SAINT ALBAN THE MARTYR
HOLBORN

# SAINT ALBAN THE MARTYR, HOLBORN

## A HISTORY OF FIFTY YEARS

BY

THE RIGHT HON.

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

*"Founded upon a Rock, but planted in the sea."*

JEREMY TAYLOR.

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TO

THE REVEREND

ROBERT A. J. SUCKLING

VICAR OF ST. ALBAN'S

WITH DEEP RESPECT FOR HIS NAME
HIS CHARACTER AND HIS WORK

# NOTE

THIS work was undertaken at the suggestion of some who have long known and loved St. Alban's. It has not been accomplished without difficulty; for, in the lapse of even fifty years, there is time for traditions to die out, and for recollection to grow vague. As regards printed authorities, I have relied chiefly on *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie: a Memoir by E. A. T.; The Church in Baldwin's Gardens;* the *Life of Archbishop Tait;* the *St. Alban's Parish Magazine* and *Monthly Paper;* and the *Church Times.*

My cordial thanks are due to all those friends of St. Alban's who have placed letters and records at my disposal—more especially to the representatives of the late Lord Addington, and to the present clergy and officials of the Parish.

G. W. E. R.

*St. Michael and All Angels,* 1912.

# CONTENTS


| CHAP. | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Beginnings | 1 |
| II. | The Shepherd and the Flock | 13 |
| III. | At Work | 41 |
| IV. | Law *v.* Gospel | 68 |
| V. | Men and Methods | 99 |
| VI. | Fathers in God | 123 |
| VII. | Fightings and Fears | 138 |
| VIII. | A Lull in the Storm | 164 |
| IX. | The Return of the Storm | 180 |
| X. | Continuity | 201 |
| XI. | Peace and Progress | 221 |
| XII. | Personality | 243 |
| XIII. | The Source and the Stream | 271 |
| XIV. | Retrospect | 289 |
| XV. | Permanence amid Change | 310 |

Appendix I.—Clergy and Churchwardens of St. Alban's, with Dates of Appointment . . 325

Appendix II.—"The Battle-ground of Ritualism" 326

Appendix III.—Parochial Organizations . . 330

Appendix IV.—St. Martin's League . . . 336

Appendix V.—Confession at St. Alban's . . 347

Index . . . . . 351

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (*Colour*) | *Frontispiece* | |
| Baldwin Pedigree . . . . . | *To face p.* | 12 |
| Mission Room in Cellar, Greville Street (*from a drawing by* W. Walcot) . . | „ | 24 |
| East End of Church, 1863 . . . | „ | 86 |
| The Clergy House, Brooke Street (*from a drawing by* W. Walcot) . . . | „ | 164 |
| Lord Penzance's Court (*from a sketch by* W. Mallett) . . . . . | „ | 208 |
| Memorial Cross in Mamore Forest . | „ | 216 |
| The Faithful Dogs (*from a drawing by* Selwyn Image) . . . . . | *On p.* | 220 |
| Cenotaph in Mackonochie Chapel . | *To face p.* | 220 |
| Interior of Mackonochie Chapel . . | „ | 221 |
| East End, with Rood . . . . . | „ | 224 |
| West End, with Font and Cover . . | „ | 240 |
| Reredos and Sanctuary . . . . | „ | 308 |
| Shrine in Courtyard (*after* Luca della Robbia) . . . . . | „ | 324 |
| Map of the Original Parish . . . . | *At end* | |

# SAINT ALBAN THE MARTYR HOLBORN

## CHAPTER I

### BEGINNINGS

"Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged."—ISAIAH.

THE origin of St. Alban's Church is inseparably connected with three names. I can best begin my narrative by describing the bearers of those names, and recording the circumstances which brought them into contact with one another.

(1) William Henry, 2nd Lord Leigh (1824–1905) was a fine specimen of the class to which he belonged; a great gentleman in speech and bearing; a high-minded, upright, and conscientious man, with a strong sense of responsibility for wealth and position. He had inherited from his great-grandmother—Lady Caroline Brydges, sister and coheiress of the last Duke of Chandos—a valuable property in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn; and part of this property—Baldwin's Gardens, lying just off Gray's Inn Lane—was notorious, even in a deplorable neighbourhood, for the amount of poverty and crime which it harboured. Like all similar property, it had been let and sublet, and

Lord Leigh had no personal knowledge of its condition.

(2) John Gellibrand Hubbard (1805–1889), created Lord Addington in 1887, was head of the firm of Hubbard & Co., Russia Merchants in the City of London; a Director, and sometime Governor, of the Bank of England; and M.P. successively for the Borough of Buckingham and for the City of London. He was, by birth and training, a churchman of the old school, and took his views of churchmanship from the Prayer Book. He was not directly affected by the Oxford Movement; but he was a staunch ally of Bishop Wilberforce, and was closely associated in good works with Gladstone, Manning, Hope-Scott, Beresford-Hope, and Lord John Manners, afterwards 7th Duke of Rutland. He had no sympathy with Romanizing eccentricities in doctrine or practice; but he was a most munificent supporter of all religious works conducted on the lines of strict Anglicanism.

(3) Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825–87) was a Scotsman by descent, though born in England and educated at Oxford. He was ordained Deacon in 1849 and Priest in 1850; and, after serving curacies at Westbury and Wantage, he joined the staff of St. George's in the East, under the incumbency of the Rev. Bryan King; being attached to the Mission Church in Wellclose Square, which was the forerunner of St. Peter's, London Docks.

Mackonochie was a man of absolute self-devotion, untiring energy, and invincible will. In 1859 St. George's in the East became the scene of some disgraceful riots, due nominally to the Rector's ritualistic practices, but, according to the late Mr.

J. M. Ludlow, "largely stimulated by the Jewish sweaters, whose proceedings Mr. Bryan King's curates, Messrs. Mackonochie and Lowder, had the unheard-of temerity to denounce and interfere with." Amid these disturbances, Mackonochie displayed a signal courage, and an even more remarkable calmness; and these qualities, superadded to his pastoral zeal, attracted the attention of Mr. Hubbard, who, like every other churchman in London, was watching the scandals at St. George's in the East with anxious interest.

So much for the three persons most closely connected with the beginnings of St. Alban's. Let me now recount the circumstances which brought them together.

In the year 1858, the large and densely-populated parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, was still undivided, and the Rector was the Rev. Jonathan James Toogood. One day Mr. Toogood's curate informed him that there was a rumour flying about the parish, to the effect that Mr. Hubbard thought of building a District-Church there. "I don't believe it," said the Rector, "and what's more, he can't do it; there is no site available."

Soon after this, the Rector met Mr. Hubbard, and said: "Do you know, I hear you have expressed a wish to build a church in Holborn?" Mr. Hubbard did not admit the soft impeachment, but the Rector went on: "I don't see how you could do it if you wished to. Every inch of suitable ground is occupied." This remark led to some further conversation about the overcrowded poor of Holborn, and their spiritual destitution; and, before the

Rector and his friend separated, Mr. Hubbard said that, if only a site could be found, he would build a church in the parish. Only a few days later, Mr. Toogood received a letter from Lord Leigh, with whom he had no acquaintance, enclosing a cheque for £20 for the poor of Holborn. In acknowledging the gift, Mr. Toogood said that, as Lord Leigh seemed to be interested in Holborn, he might like to hear that Mr. Hubbard, the ex-Governor of the Bank of England, intended to build a church in the parish, if only a site could be secured. Lord Leigh promptly replied that he would give a site on his estate; and so the work began. The Rev. Adam Clarke Smith, at that time Senior Curate to Mr. Toogood, gave the following account of the preliminary negotiations: "When we came to examine the site, we found that it lay back of the frontage of shops in Gray's Inn Lane, and that the only access was by Baldwin's Gardens; it was therefore determined to try and purchase a portion of the frontage, otherwise the church would be entirely shut in from the road. I got access to the rate-books; I obtained the names of the owners of this frontage, and went to each of them to know the price at which they would sell." However, the prices asked were too extortionate, and the new church was placed in the middle of houses and factories which wholly concealed it from view.[1]

The business connected with the building of the new church, and the delimitation of the new parish, brought Mr. Toogood into personal relations with Lord Leigh, and Lord Leigh first met Mr. Hubbard in Mr. Toogood's study. "Things," said Lord

[1] See p. 35.

Leigh in after-years, "work out strangely. I'll tell you what a small incident led to my share in the work. I was reading Disraeli's *Sybil*, and a passage on the latent responsibility of rich owners to the needs of the poor touched me as I read it; and knowing that I had inherited some property in Holborn, I sat down on the spur of the moment, and sent a cheque for £20 for some use amongst the poor of the parish. The rest you know."

The church and its endowment being promised,[1] the site given, and all requisite consents obtained, it now became necessary to determine the area of the new parish. This was eventually done by detaching from the mother-parish of St. Andrew's an irregular parallelogram, bounded by Holborn, Leather Lane, Gray's Inn Road, and Clerkenwell Road, and erecting the space thus enclosed into a new ecclesiastical district. Its extent was 500 yards by 200, and it contained some 8000 souls. Though sunk in squalor, the place was rich in historical interest, and the local annals were precise and unbroken.

Holborn was originally known as Holeburnstrate, and obtained its name from the Holeburn, or Hollow-burn, once a swiftly running stream which started from Ken-Wood in Highgate and emptied itself into that creek or backwater of the Thames mediævally known as The Fleet. This burn was afterwards known as Turnmill Brook, and, much attenuated, it still flows through a bricked-in channel under Farringdon Road.

[1] Mr. Hubbard gave the church and its furniture, the use of the Clergy House, £5000 in the 3 per cents., and £100 a year for each of two Curates. The grant for the Curates was discontinued in 1881.

Leather Lane is a name corrupted from Le Veroune Lane (*anglicé*, the Round Lane), by which designation it was known in the thirteenth century. Disguised at first in the form of Liveroune Lane, the name afterwards became quite lost in that of Liver Lane, which in turn was corrupted into Leather Lane. But there is nothing to show that the lane was ever connected with the leather-merchants or their business. For centuries it was bounded on the east, throughout its whole length, by the grounds belonging to the palace of the Bishops of Ely, whilst its western side was mostly laid out in gardens. But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was the only road, other than that by Holborn and Cow Lane, that led round to Clerkenwell.

Gray's Inn Road is quite a modern name, though for three centuries, and until it was recently widened, it was known as Gray's Inn Lane. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, it was known only as Portpole Lane. The name *Portpole* is said to mean "Market Pool," an ancient market having been situated at Holborn Bars, and afterwards removed to Brooke Market and Leather Lane.

Clerkenwell Road, or that part of it which forms the northern boundary of St. Alban's parish, was in the eighteenth century known as Liquorpond Street, possibly because two very large breweries were then situated upon its south side. This street probably had no existence earlier than the days of the Stuarts. Where Leather Lane now meets Clerkenwell Road there once stood a windmill, and the high ground which formed its site was for a long period known as Windmill Hill. But in

Edward III's reign it was known as "le Hanging," and in Tudor times as "the Hanging Acre," a name which suggests a gibbet and public executions.[1]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there stood in Holborn a mansion belonging to William Bourchier, Earl of Bath, with lands stretching to Leather Lane, at the back of Furnival's Inn. In 1619 this mansion was bought by Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke of Beauchamp's Court, who changed its name to Brooke House, made it his abode, and in 1628 was murdered in it by a servant who committed suicide. The house was destroyed in 1690, and a hundred years later the property was sold by the Earl of Warwick, then head of the family of Greville. The gardens of Brooke House are now covered by Brooke Street, Greville Street, Market Street, and Beauchamp Street.[2] The house itself seems to have stood at what is now the entrance to Brooke Street. Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum* (1803) has this quaint note:

"The residence of the ancient family of Brooke was situated at the corner of Brooke Street and Holborn, where the name is still used to point out the extensive warehouses of Mr. Oldham, whose assortment of every description of ironmongery is very great indeed."

Where the new parish of St. Alban's abutted on Gray's Inn Lane (as it was then called) lay "Baldwin's Gardens," which according to tradition were laid out by Richard Baldwin, sometime gardener to Queen Elizabeth. Some vague rights of "Sanctuary," though not recognized by the law, seem to

[1] For these particulars I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. E. Williams.

[2] Thomas Chatterton died in Brooke Street, August 25, 1770.

have attached to the spot, for "Baldwin's Gardens" is specified, among the places to be abolished, in the Act of Parliament passed in 1697 "for the preventing the many and notorious and scandalous practices used in many pretended and privileged places in and about the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark." By this time Baldwin's Gardens had become a choice abode of lawlessness and ruffianism. Some trace of lingering respectability seems to be implied in the record that, in 1643, "Jane Smitheys, an antient lady, wife of Sir Arthur Smitheys, Knight, died in William Smith's house in Baldwin's Gardens"; and in 1748 Richard White, of Baldwin's Gardens, left £500 for almshouses; but the chronicler remarks that to "the east side of Gray's Inn Lane there is a crowded neighbourhood of the most filthy description"; and of this district Baldwin's Gardens was the centre. It formed a very convenient refuge for criminals, as it was connected by narrow alleys with a network of courts, and contained several Common Lodging-houses of the lowest type. In its purlieus, the Cato Street Conspiracy of 1820 was hatched; and the precise site of St. Alban's Church was a notorious Thieves' Kitchen. That this ill-famed quarter was not allowed to sink into absolute heathenism was due in great part to the influence of a leading man among the Evangelicals in the first half of the nineteenth century—the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Wriothesley Noel, who was Incumbent of a Proprietary Chapel called St. John's, Bedford Row. Mr. Noel, a most eloquent and moving preacher, gathered round him a large and wealthy congregation, fruitful in good

works. His District-Visitors went in and out among the courts and alleys of Baldwin's Gardens, and he maintained a first-rate school, which was also the centre of many social activities, on the site now occupied by the schools of St. Alban's. In 1849, Mr. Noel seceded from the Church of England, being unable to endure her undue subordination to the State.[1] St. John's Chapel was closed in 1857, and the good works which had been connected with it came to an end; though the school remained, the Secretary being Mr. John Martin, whose name subsequently became conspicuous in the history of St. Alban's.

As soon as Mr. Hubbard had made his brave and generous resolve to evangelize this squalid slum, he entrusted the task of building the new church to his friend William Butterfield. The work was full of difficulties. The site was so closely hemmed in by the adjacent houses, that it was extremely hard to secure a proper entrance. If the church was not to be quite dark, it must be carried to an unusual height, and yet, inasmuch as the east wall backed on some tall tenements, it was impossible to make an east window. The east wall was therefore adorned with ten large mural paintings of sacred subjects, from designs by an

[1] "His more than three score years and ten were dedicated, by the day and by the hour, to a ministry not of mind, but of spirit. His refined yet vigorous eloquence none who listened to it, but for once, could forget; and having, in earliest youth, counted birth and fortune and fashion but 'loss for Christ,' in later age, at the bidding of the same conscience, he relinquished the church which was his living and the pulpit which was his throne, because he saw, or thought he saw, danger to Evangelical truth in State alliance, and would go forth at the call of duty, he knew not and he cared not whither."—C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., 1873.

artist of real genius, Mr. H. L. Styleman Le Strange, of Hunstanton Hall, who had with his own hands painted the "Lantern" of Ely Cathedral. A contemporary observer thus described the church:

"It possesses in a marked degree the usual characteristics of Mr. Butterfield's designs. It consists of western narthex, a kind of terminal transept, of the same height as the nave, with south and west doors, and bearing a picturesque saddle-backed belfry. The west wall has no entrance, but is pierced by two of the tallest and most beautiful three-light geometrical windows that have perhaps ever yet found their way into an English church. The nave, of four bays, opens into the narthex by an arch of the largest dimensions that could be inserted between the walls. The chancel is of two bays, and the nave-aisles are continued one bay beyond the chancel-arch." A tablet over the south-west door bears this inscription:

"To the
Glory of God and
In memory of Saint Alban Martyr
Upon a site given by
William Henry, 2nd Baron Leigh
This church is erected by
A Merchant of London."

Over the north-west door:

"Free for
Ever to Christ's poor this Church is built
And endowed in thankful
Acknowledgment of His mercies
By a Humble Steward of God's bounty."

An. Dni.
1860.

Red brick, then scarcely known in ecclesiastical interiors, was freely used in the scheme of decoration. Behind the altar was an extraordinarily ugly reredos of stone and tiles, its centre being a lozenge-shaped frame with a white marble cross in high relief.[1] A gorgeous triptych and a startling rood, added in recent years, have greatly changed the aspect of the east end; but the rest of the church, with its beautifully harmonious proportions, and its unequalled arches, remains as it was. Perhaps by accident, perhaps by design, the organ and the vestries were so arranged, north and south of the choir, as to make a side-altar impossible.

An interesting fragment of history was embedded in the west wall. In 1850, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council seemed, by its decision in the case of the Rev. G. C. Gorham, to imperil the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, two great meetings of protest were held in London, —one in St. Martin's Hall, and one in Freemasons' Hall. At the former Mr. Hubbard presided; and on account of this circumstance (for the chairman of the other meeting soon seceded to Rome), the written Protest, reaffirming the Nicene doctrine of Baptism and repudiating the spiritual authority of the Judicial Committee, was entrusted to Mr. Hubbard's keeping. The document was drawn mainly by Dr. Pusey, and was signed by a vast number of clergy and laity. By Mr. Hubbard's direction, the central portion of the inscription over the font of St. Alban's—"I acknowledge one

[1] It is recorded that Bishop Tait "grumbled" at this cross, but eventually let it pass.

Baptism for the remission of sins"—was left unfixed, and in the cavity behind it the tin box containing the Protest was deposited, and then built into the wall.[1]

Such was the material fabric of St. Alban's Church. The living stones which made it a spiritual temple will be described as the narrative proceeds.

[1] The Protest was in after-years removed to the library of Lambeth Palace.

Archdeacon Denison wrote thus concerning the Gorham Judgment: "I was present with my dear friend Lord John Thynne, when it was declared, March 8, 1850. As we came down the steps of the Council Office, I said to him, 'Well, what do you think will come next?' He said, 'I suppose you mean something about the other Sacrament?' 'Yes,' I said, 'and it will come very soon!' I did not think, when I said it, that it would come in my own person within four years from that day."

# R. BALDWIN'S PEDIGREE

Clutterbuck's *Herts.*
Harl. Soc., xxii. 125.
*Misc. Gen.*, 2nd Series, iii. 136.
*Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vol. 9 (46, 191).

John Baldwyn = Joan, bur. 30 Aug. 1539.

John Baldwyn of Redheath, Co. Herts.; bur. at Watford, 17 Oct. 1570. = Agnes Arden, d. 9 May 1623. = (2) Francis Wethered of Berkhampstead, bur. 8 May 1600.

William Baldwin, of Middle Temple, eldest son.

**Richard Baldwin**, Under Treasurer of Middle Temple, alive 1621; **owner of Baldwin's Gardens**; said to be Gardener to Queen Elizabeth. = Anne, dau. of Richard Sawell or Sawle.

Thomas Baldwin, of Middle Temple, 5th son; Comptroller of the King's Buildings (Jas. I.).

Elizabeth Wethered, born 1574. See *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vol. 9 (46, 191).

Richard Baldwin, of High Holborn, Baldwin's Gardens, and Middle Temple; living at Watford 1633. = Anne Towers, dau. of Wm. Towers of Thonock, Co. Lincoln; bapt. at Gainsbro' 11 Sept. 1581. = (2) William Cheney of Northamptonshire.

Thomas. Richard. Drowned, 1630, whilst boys.

Catherine = Richard Cobb.

E. W.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SHEPHERD AND THE FLOCK

"He fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power."—ASAPH THE SEER.

As Patron of St. Alban's, Mr. Hubbard soon began to look about him for a priest, suited in all respects for what promised to be a very arduous work. He was deeply impressed by the responsibility which he had incurred, the immense possibilities for good involved in a right decision, and the evil consequences, not only to the new parish but to the church at large, which might result from an unwise appointment. The two friends on whose judgment he placed the greatest reliance were W. J. Butler, then Vicar of Wantage,[1] and H. P. Liddon, then Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall. Both concurred in strongly recommending Mackonochie. He had served as a curate under Butler, and Liddon had been one of his fellow-curates.[2] From Wantage he had gone to St. George's in the East, and there, as I said before, he fell under the watchful eye of Mr. Hubbard, who was deeply struck by his zeal and devotion, though at the same time he demurred to certain small ritualisms practised by the clergy of St. George's. Mr. Hubbard now was in a strait

[1] Afterwards Dean of Lincoln.

[2] Liddon and Mackonochie were nicknamed at Wantage St. John the Divine and St. John the Baptist.

betwixt two; he saw that Mackonochie was by his personal qualities admirably fitted for the charge of the new church; but he felt a misgiving lest, coming from a church where the ceremonial was, according to the notions of those times, "advanced," he might exceed the limits which the founder of St. Alban's deemed judicious.

The following letter bears on this perplexity:

WANTAGE VICARAGE, *Nov.* 28, 1860.

DEAR MR. HUBBARD,—I quite agree with all that you say respecting the folly of an *unnatural* development of Church Ritual, and I look upon the crossing oneself at meals to be exactly of that description, but, in the particular case of Mackonochie (I speak pretty confidently), I feel sure that (1) his merits are so great that they would counterbalance many things; and (2) he is quite sensible enough not to offend. I was most anxious that you should secure him before he went to St. George's, and I did all in my power to persuade him not to go thither. Being once there, he found himself in a system to which of course he had no *personal* objection, and, even if he had, he was not in a position to alter it. But this is very different from creating it, or carrying it on in a new locality. I, therefore, exposing myself to the charge of giving *toujours perdrix*, do still, after balancing the evils on each side, strongly incline to recommend Mackonochie.—I am, yours very truly,

WILLIAM BUTLER.

Now Hubbard on the one side, and Mackonochie on the other, were busily consulting their friends

about questions of duty and prudence contingent on an offer not yet made. Mackonochie's diocesan, Bishop Wilberforce, decided that it would be right for Mackonochie to accept the charge if it were offered to him. Bishop Tait was unexpectedly cordial about the suggested appointment. Mr. Keble's judgment was invoked, and was strongly in favour of Mackonochie. The venerable Sir John Taylor Coleridge was not much disturbed by the novelties which had distressed Hubbard; while Liddon, in season and out of season, implored Hubbard to make the offer, and Mackonochie to accept it.

A vast mass of correspondence bearing on these perplexities has been preserved unto this day, and from it two or three facts conspicuously emerge. Mackonochie had not the slightest wish to leave the Mission at St. George's in the East. His whole heart and soul were there, and the outbreak of Protestant fury had only bound him more closely to the altar so rudely assailed. He had already declined the Vicarage of St. Saviour's, Leeds, and he had not the faintest ambition to be the first Incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn. Mr. Hubbard, in his meticulous care for the prosperity of the work which he had so munificently started, was inclined to treat Mackonochie as an enthusiast, whose eagerness about trifles would very easily carry him beyond the bounds of discretion; and he was anxious to make all sorts of conditions and "understandings" before he appointed Mackonochie to the living. Mackonochie, on the other hand, was reluctant to enter into any engagements which should bind him when he had become Incumbent of

the parish. Pending the appointment, he was willing to discuss with Mr. Hubbard the points on which they disagreed; to argue, and explain, and defend his position. All this he was ready to do, so long as he was not in a responsible position; but he would make no promises, and would be no party to "understandings," which might fetter his action if and when he became Priest of the parish. These are his own words: "The point I kept before myself, and as forcibly as I could pressed on others, was that, when once a Priest was licensed to the parish, and the church consecrated, the work would be neither his nor Mr. Hubbard's, but God's. With the priest, as God's steward, would rest the responsibility, and therefore, with him alone, after such security for sound judgments as he might be able to take, must rest the decision for which he alone would answer at the Judgment."

The following abstract, made with business-like accuracy in Mr. Hubbard's own hand, gives a notion of the length to which the correspondence ran, and also illustrates the minuteness of the points which fifty years ago sufficed to set good men by the ears:

1. *Nov.* 29/60. — Butler strongly recommends Mackonochie.

2. *March* 3/61. — Butler encloses Mackonochie's letter to him, in which M. says he must be absolutely unfettered in his work if the church is offered him. Protests against this or any other letter being considered as a "pledge." Considers the sign of the Cross and Vestments (in some form) desirable — lighted Altar-candles,

position of Celebrant essential. Expresses his own sense of unfitness for the work, fears that Hubbard's political position might be affected if his (Mackonochie's) views or acts should be clamoured at. *Butler* says M. will probably do not "half so much as his words imply," that he has "unintentionally exaggerated his angles."

[At this point I interrupt Mr. Hubbard's abstract, in order to note that in July 1861 he offered the living to Mr. Liddon. Both Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble advised Liddon to decline it, on the ground that he was specially required to fight the good fight of faith at Oxford, and Mr. Keble recommended Mackonochie for the vacant post. On Liddon's refusal, Mr. Hubbard renewed negotiations with Mackonochie, and I here resume his abstract

3. *Aug.* 13/61.—Butler sends letter from Liddon, suggesting that Mackonochie should write again in a calmer mood on the subjects of which he treated in the former letter. Expresses Keble's hope M. should have St. Alban's. Butler suggests that Liddon should be written to.

4. *Dec.* 9/61.—Mackonochie, after personal interview with me, writes to-day he cannot retract anything in his former letter.

5. *Dec.* 10/61.—Mackonochie endorses Liddon's advice that "Eucharistic vestments should not be made a *sine quâ non*," but repeats (what he wrote to Butler) that a "Priest

ought to introduce Eucharistic Vestments"; that they are to be "the point of Ritual aimed at."

6. *Dec.* 13/61.—Mackonochie says his line has always been to consider Ritual as secondary to direct work for souls, though valuable as assisting people to grasp the Faith. Candles and chasubles not to be an obstacle to the acceptance of Mission work.

[I omit 7 and 8, which refer to the opinions of Sir John Coleridge on Ritual.]

9. *Dec.* 18/61.—Mackonochie about "crossing"; would consent for a time to suspend it, "but unwilling to submit to any judgment as to when to resume it." Proposes a temporary agreement, but reserves to himself the decision of length of period, and actual degree of suspension of the practice.

10. *Dec.* 21/61.—Mackonochie, after conversation with Liddon, offers to forego the sign of the Cross at table.

11. *Dec.* 21/61.—Liddon reports substance of conversation with Mackonochie—considers position of Celebrant, cleansing of Vessels, and Veils, important as signs of belief in Real Presence. Altar-lights he considers a legal point. Expresses his belief that M. is the man to whom of all others he would entrust souls.

12. *Dec.* 24/61.—Liddon describes correct position of Celebrant; desire to hasten a practical issue to the suspense about Mackonochie.

13. *Dec.* 27/61.—Liddon writes that Mackonochie says he can no longer continue this correspondence about details, that he cannot take a Church hampered by conditions, that the decision should be on the broad ground of confidence in his loyalty to the Church, and the possession of prudence as well as zeal.

[This letter of Liddon's, together with the two that follow it, must be printed in their entirety, if the disagreements between Hubbard and Mackonochie are to be understood.]

I

*Dec.* 27, 1861.

My dear Sir,—Mackonochie writes to me that he "cannot well continue this correspondence about details."

"It puts me," he says, "in a false position, and is calculated permanently to interfere with my future opportunities of usefulness. If ever I become Incumbent of a Church, I shall give conscientious consideration to all matters of practice and ritual. Beyond this I can say nothing. It is agreed on all sides that I could not take the Church hampered by conditions."

He is anxious that you should decide on the broad ground of confidence in his loyalty to the Church of England, and in his possessing the prudence as well as zeal necessary to a post such as the Incumbency of St. Alban's.

I can therefore say no more. I am very sorry that this renewed negotiation has not been more successful. Possibly the unyielding side of my friend's character is allied to much in it which is most precious and elevated: and I heartily wish that the æsthetical points which he raised in his note to Butler had never come into question. But I must thus leave the matter in your hands, thanking you for your enduring kindness and consideration.—Yours faithfully,

H. P. Liddon.

## II

*8th January*, 1862.

Dear Mr. Mackonochie,—I was so anxious you should not think me bent on exacting from you pledges which you were indisposed to give, that, having gratefully received your intimation that you would disuse the personal crossing, I abstained from persisting *to you* the points on which I first desire to inform and assure my own mind.

I wrote, however, to Mr. Liddon, from whom (and possibly from the Bishop of Salisbury) I hoped to receive information which might assist my own conclusions upon the points I submitted to them. Mr. Liddon sent my letter on to you with a view to hastening our understanding, but it was not intended to be so used, and it failed to accomplish his object, if I may judge from your reply of 26th December which he communicated to me.

Let me assure you that I should much regret your being put in "a false position which would permanently interfere with your future usefulness" —and that I should have no wish to "hamper you

with conditions" before I ask you to accept the cure of St. Alban's.

You had once enumerated certain things as essentials which did not seem so to me, but that statement you have (as I understand) qualified or revoked, and you express yourself willing to entertain the consideration of what may be the wisest course to pursue upon points which, being neither matters of faith or essential discipline, may fairly be decided by you after consultation and discussion with those whose interest in the work, or whose age, experience, or position might warrant their being consulted.

I need hardly say how deeply solicitous I feel that I may act as a wise and faithful steward in a step which may either bring to naught, or crown with success, the results of years of anxious thought and toil; but I have entire confidence in your devotion and loyalty to the Church of Christ established in this land, and I trust in the truth and wisdom of the course you will pursue under that Divine guidance which I am sure you will sincerely and humbly seek.

Will you then accept the charge of the new Church and District of St. Alban's which I now offer to you?

Believe me, dear Mr. Mackonochie,—Yours faithfully,

J. G. HUBBARD.

## III

MISSION HOUSE, 44 WELLCLOSE SQUARE,
*Jan.* 11, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. HUBBARD,—You will wonder that your kind letter of Wednesday has been so long

unanswered. The delay has arisen from my absence from home. I only received it on my return to-day.

I have to thank you for many things, in the course of the correspondence: but will only say that I owe you more than I can say both for your forbearance towards myself and for your perseverance in seeking to assure yourself that you might safely commit to me the charge of the Church and District of St. Alban's. I accept it most thankfully, and (I hope) humbly. I believe that God's Will is shown in the kindness with which you have borne with me; and, therefore, feel that I may rightly hope for His help and guidance in fulfilling the trust.

I shall most gladly talk over with you any matter of detail—in fact, anything which you may desire to discuss with me—and give to all you say the value to which your "interest in the work," your "age, experience, and position"—and, let me add, your great love for Christ and His people—"entitle you."

I have felt it my duty to express myself antagonistically in all the preliminary negotiations, because I desired not to move from the Mission except under the Will of God. I may now say that I am always glad to find laymen who will discuss questions of practice, &c., in the Church. I thank you much for your expression of confidence. I value it because I believe that it is placed in God and not in me. I must conclude by asking you for that which I am sure that I have, and which is more valuable than confidence—your prayers that God will bless me in this new work to the good of

souls and His great glory. Believe me, my dear Mr. Hubbard,—Yours most truly,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

It will probably be better for my work, both here and there, that as few people as possible should be told about my going to St. Alban's till I do go. I would rather, as far as possible, be my own herald, than be announced by the *Record*, *et id genus omne*.

[14 and 15 relate to Letters II and III. The abstract is now resumed.]

16. *Jan.* 16/62.—Liddon thanks me for instituting (qu. appointing?) Mackonochie, hopes M. will feel the "moral obligation" under which he is placed to me. Discusses position of Celebrant.

17. *Jan.* 18/62.—Mackonochie tells me of his interview with the Bishop, thanks me for the terms in which I spoke to Bishop of the understanding with which I asked him to accept it, *viz.* "with the confidence that he will carry out the work with the same feeling with which I commit it to him, with a hearty and loyal allegiance to the Church of England, neglecting none of the means of edification which she supplies either in doctrine or Ritual—but using the large liberty which she allows with a wise discretion, keeping in view that the great object for which the Church is founded is the salvation of souls."

Mackonochie, having now definitely accepted the charge of the new district, felt that he ought

at once to begin work there. The church was not yet consecrated, but the Clergy House was ready for occupation, and there Mackonochie established himself (with the Rev. Edmund Ibbotson) on the Thursday in Easter Week, 1862. He was not yet technically Incumbent, but only a licensed Curate of St. Andrew's Parish. The first service, consisting of a Litany and Instruction, was held on Sunday, May 11, in a room over a costermonger's fish-shop, at the corner of Baldwin's Gardens; and in the following month the services were moved to the basement of a house in Greville Street, where a cellar had been converted into a chapel. There was a simple altar, with cross, candlesticks, and flowers; the floor was covered with matting; and there were a few sacred pictures on the walls—only this, and nothing more. But from the first the Holy Communion was celebrated with lights, the Priest wearing alb and chasuble of white linen, with black stole and maniple.[1] Here the services were conducted for nine months, and from Whitsunday 1862 they consisted, on Sundays of Holy Communion at 8 A.M.; Mattins and Sermon at 10 A.M.; Litany and School at 3; Evensong at 7; with extra services on Holy Days and other occasions.

December 1862 was marked by one of the happiest incidents in the history of St. Alban's. Mr. Arthur Henry Stanton, who had already been working as a layman in the district, was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of London at his Advent Ordination, and licensed to the new parish. What his fifty years' work at St. Alban's has meant for God

[1] Mr. Hubbard presented a similar chasuble to St. Alban's Church.

MISSION ROOM IN CELLAR, No. 7 GREVILLE STREET, 1862

*From a drawing by* W. WALCOT

and human souls can never be known till the books are opened and the record of life is revealed.

All legal formalities being now completed, and the District of St. Alban's duly constituted, the Bishop of London instituted Mackonochie to his new charge on the 3rd of January, 1863.

Scarcely was this all-important act performed than fresh trouble arose, this time, as it would appear, from the gossip of busybodies. Here I resume Mr. Hubbard's abstract, omitting unimportant entries, 18 and 19.

20. *Jan.* 5/63.—Mackonochie, having heard from Butler of my distress at some reports which had reached me, explains his accidental appearance twice in the street in a cassock, asserts his devotion to Church of England, begs me to tell him directly of any rumours. Offers to resign at once, so as not to be a worry to me; makes the offer *now*, because when church is consecrated, and the work fairly begun, he could not do it.

[This entry refers to two letters which Mr. Mackonochie wrote to Mr. Hubbard on the 5th of January, 1863. They need not be printed in their entirety, for they relate in part to the endowment, and to the approaching consecration, of the church. But the points at issue between the Founder and the Incumbent must be set forth in full.]

### From Letter I

The same post which brought me your own kind letter brought me also one from Butler about

our affairs here. He says: "Mr. Hubbard is very much annoyed—quite beaten to the ground—by the various reports that reach him." Before I go on to speak of the different points in the Vicar's[1] letter, may I be allowed to say one thing? I should be so very much obliged if you would kindly speak to me about any reports you hear. I have sufficiently strange things said to me, to be quite free from any feeling of vexation at your reporting what you hear. About a year ago, you expressed a hope that I should not mind talking over with you any matters which might concern the church. I then said that I certainly should not, only guarding my duty of ultimately deciding on my own responsibility. I quite meant what I said at that time. I always try to do so, although it is sometimes a difficult matter in these days of compliment. Next to my duty to God in the matter of the souls committed to me, I have naturally set it before me as my main object that you should be able to look with satisfaction on the manner in which the work is being done. . . .

Now, as to the Vicar's remarks, I believe that as far as they relate to myself they consist of two points.

1. The assertion that we go about the district in our cassocks. I think I have once taken my mother across the pavement to a cab in my cassock: and once I found that I had turned out of the gate towards Bell Court without remembering to tuck it up. I believe these are the only two occasions on which we have crossed the threshold without carefully tucking it out of sight.

2. That we have worn long cloaks of serge.

[1] "The Vicar" here means Mr. Butler.

This is true. We found such things very convenient for going down to the room [1] and into any immediate neighbour's house, as it took less time to put on, and involved less rolling up of the cassock. Doran has been adopting it as a general upper dress, and Walker has worn it once or twice at night. However, we have no special affection for them, if they annoy anyone. On Saturday or some day last week Doran was announcing his intention of having his own curtailed. I did not feel at liberty to pledge others to a relinquishment, as the dress was no device of mine, and only adopted for convenience; but I find that both my brethren are quite prepared to meet any wishes of yours in this respect.

I think much might be said for a thoroughly recognisable dress of the kind in a wild district like this; but we did not adopt it with that object; and, if we had, it is just one of those little things which, if you had expressed your dislike to it, might have been laid aside without your being "beaten down to the ground."

The rest of the Vicar's letter consists of an onslaught upon some imaginary system of Compulsory Confession, Roman devotions, and a certain "old Chalice grievance" which does not apply to me. I cannot make out from the context whether it relates to rumours which you have heard. If so, I think I can satisfy you on their falseness. A little time ago Mrs. Worthington [2] asked me if I had taken a vow not to marry; also if I meant to have service every two hours. Now, as a matter of

[1] *i.e.* the subterranean chapel in Greville Street.
[2] Wife of the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Gray's Inn Road.

speculation, I see no objection to Vows of Celibacy, or very frequent services; but, as neither entered into my plans, I could give a very satisfactory denial. I have no doubt that there are hosts of equally veracious rumours. I can only say that I am not, nor ever have been, specially in love with Modern Rome; and therefore am not going to be frightened by these rumours from continuing steadfast to the whole Catholic teaching of the Church of England, so far as God shall give me strength.

### From Letter II

I have been thinking again about the letter from Wantage. . . . It grieves me much to be the cause of so great anxiety to you, in a matter which must be so near your heart. I said at first: "Do not offer it me, if you do not trust me." I may, I think, still say, as the church is not consecrated and so my work un-begun, I will resign at once if you wish it. When once I am embarked fairly in the work, I could not say so; but now I think I may. I am fully conscious of my own utter unfitness for so great a work, and tremble before it. I shall therefore gladly be released.

Should you accept my offer, I need not say that I will go on all the same and try to do my best till you find a successor. You will thus confer a favour on me, by releasing me from a work beyond my power; and, I hope, get ease and peace for yourself. . . .

I do not know exactly your movements, so send one letter to Prince's Gate and another to Addington.[1]

[1] Mr. Hubbard's residences in London and Buckinghamshire.

[21, 22, 23, and 24 relate to other matters. The abstract is resumed.]

25. *Jan.* 18/63.—Butler expresses his regret at Mackonochie's obstinacy about trifles.
Suggests one more effort being made through Liddon's influence.

Here are some extracts from Mr. Butler's letter:

*Jan.* 18, 1863.

I have had much painful thought about St. Alban's since I saw you on Monday last. I spent Tuesday morning with Mackonochie, and earnestly begged him to consider most of these points which came before us. It seemed to me piteous that so good and able a man should think for a single moment of giving up *such* a work. . . . He is much changed since his migration to that unhappy "Mission." A number of young donkeys have got about him, and pushed on a mind only too willing to go ahead, and, after the true Scotch fashion, to carry out, as he thinks, certain premises to their legitimate conclusions. I am very glad that you have put off the consecration of the church, and I only suggest one effort more to be made with Mackonochie. I will write to Liddon, and try his influence with M., if you like.

[I resume Mr. Hubbard's abstract.]

26. *Jan.* 19/63.—Butler sends me James Mackonochie's letter, proposing that the points of contention should be submitted for Butler's decision.[1]

[1] Mr. James Mackonochie was brother of A. H. M.

27. *Jan.* 21/63.—Butler writes that he and Liddon had seen Mackonochie and urged him to yield on minor points; wishes me not to accept the resignation.

28. *Jan.* 21/63.—Liddon presses me to an interview with Mackonochie; thinks M. is prepared to talk over matters in a satisfactory spirit.

29. *Jan.* 23/63.—Liddon hears from Mackonochie that he abandons his intention of calling on me; regrets he ever accepted the charge.

Here is Liddon's letter:

*Jan.* 23, 1863.

My own instinct would have been to have trusted Mackonochie—I had almost said—against the world. In losing him, you lose an apostle. Such men as he is do not abound. They are not made to order—at least in Oxford. You will easily get a man who will take his place as far as the services are concerned, and the avoidance of such points as have challenged criticism. But his single-hearted goodness—his sublime indifference to the idols of 99 clergymen out of 100—is not to be met with every day.

Forgive me for speaking of my friend as I feel in my inmost heart. It is indeed sad that such a church as St. Alban's and such a man as he must part company. But I see no remaining move.

30. *Jan.* 23/63.—Mackonochie says "details are to him and me equally *simply* means of furthering or hindering the work of which the object is the glory of God, and the

salvation of souls." Therefore he hopes we may come to a mutual agreement, and suggests we should talk over the matter together.

31. *Jan.* 24/63.—Liddon writes that evidently Mackonochie regrets sending his resignation and by his desire withdraws all that he had said in his name about it. Says Mackonochie believes I refused to accept the resignation.

32. *Jan.* 30/63.—I write to Mackonochie suggesting that he should remain for a time on trial at St. Alban's, give up the Crucifix in Oratory, the habitual wear of cassocks, unsanctioned Ritual practices. I remind him his own friends do not think me unreasonable.

To this strange suggestion of a temporary engagement Mackonochie made the only possible reply.

*February 4th*, 1863.

My dear Mr. Hubbard,—I thank you very much for an exceedingly kind letter of 30th January. I have left it unanswered for two or three days, as I was anxious to consider how I could best bring your uneasiness to an end.

I feel bound first of all to say that the impression created on my mind with reference to what passed as to my offer of resignation was different from your own; but I will not now dwell upon this, as I earnestly hope, after what I am about to write, that it may not be necessary.

I cannot help thinking that you will see on con-

sideration that there may be great difficulties in the way of my being here on trial. If I felt myself to be in this position—that I might have to leave my post here at any time if my efforts were not visibly blessed with success—it would probably be out of my power, however much I might strive, to work with the same heart as if I knew that here my lot was cast for life. And again, how would it be possible to discover whether the results of my particular work were satisfactory or not? and how long would it take to test those results? The only results which either you or I care to effect would be the salvation of souls, but how far this work is going on is not always known by crowded congregations, or by the praise of men, but in the quiet unseen life of those whom the world knows not; and on these and other grounds, I do not see how it would be possible for me to enter into an agreement to leave this charge, in case the results of my work did not appear satisfactory.

But while I say this, I assure you again of my deep and earnest wish to carry on the work here in accordance with your desires, so far as I possibly can. Though most unwilling to speak of myself, perhaps I ought to do so for a moment. In a few weeks I shall have had fourteen years' experience in rough, hard work with souls, four of them having been spent in London, and I venture to appeal to the testimony as well of those who have differed from me as those who have agreed with me to the fact that God's blessing has apparently not been withheld from my work. I almost shrink from writing this, but believe the law of Christian manliness obliges me thus to speak out.

After having reluctantly said thus much, may I venture to propose what follows? As I now know some of the details to which you have objected, I will gladly endeavour to avoid them so far as I can without the surrender of any fundamental principle; but I feel that it will be quite impossible for me to do my duty here thoroughly, unless you kindly trust to my judgment. You will remember that I left my former work and was appointed to this, without any seeking on my part, and only on your expressing entire confidence in my loyalty and devotion to the Church of England. I came then, believing it to be God's Will that I should come, and I believe it still. I can therefore only appeal to you to trust to me to do what is good and right for the highest success of this great work; and to believe me that the deep interest which you have in it shall never be forgotten. If you do trust me, and leave me unfettered, it shall be my endeavour, as in the sight of God, to act as a faithful and true Priest of the Church of England with *prudence* and *discretion*.—Believe me, my dear Mr. Hubbard, yours very truly,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

To this well-grounded and well-expressed appeal, Mr. Hubbard made a generous response.

*Feb.* 5, 1863.

DEAR MR. MACKONOCHIE,—I am not insensible to the disadvantage under which you might feel yourself labouring if you remained at St. Alban's in uncertainty as to the duration of your work there.

And you state so distinctly "your deep and earnest wish to carry on the work there in accordance with my desires as far as you possibly can," and to "act as a faithful and true Priest of the Church of England, with prudence and discretion," that I accept as quite satisfactory the assurance which those words import. "Faithful and true" in purpose, you will teach the whole Gospel of Christ, and enforce it by all the means of edification which our Church has provided and enjoined. "Prudent and discreet" in action, you will avoid unauthorised novelties and doubtful revivals, which may excite suspicion and mistrust, and you will guard against assuming an outward conformity to the Church of Rome, in language, ritual, or garb. (She excludes a real conformity by her un-Catholic addition to the Creeds of the Church of Christ.) Charity towards Rome does not require, and charity to your own people forbids, the exhibition of an external conformity, so long as we are divided in Communion.—Yours faithfully,

J. G. HUBBARD.

This letter seemed to clear the air, and Mackonochie replied as follows:

*Feb.* 5, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. HUBBARD,—I have to thank you most heartily for the great kindness and generosity of your letter. I can assure you that it shall not be for any want of care and thoughtful consideration on my part, if I fail to deserve your goodness. I most earnestly hope, by the blessing of God, that, as you know me better, you will have no cause to repent the trust which you have placed in me.

Now that I have obtained this full expression of trust, I have no difficulty about at once removing the crucifix, and discontinuing the ordinary use of the cassock.—Again thanking you most sincerely, I am, my dear Mr. Hubbard, yours very truly,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

All difficulties being now happily removed, the consecration of the new church was fixed for Saturday, February 21, 1863. On that day, Mr. Hubbard issued an Address "To the Inhabitants of the District of St. Alban's, Holborn." It was headed by a neat map, showing the position of the new church and the legal boundaries of the "District." It ran as follows:

MY FRIENDS,—When I was seeking, a few years since, a site on which I might erect a church for God's service in some destitute portion of the Metropolis, it was intimated to me by Mr. Toogood, then Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, that Lord Leigh, hearing of my enquiry, and anxious to promote the spiritual welfare of the neighbourhood in which you dwell, offered a site upon his own property, if I would build the church there. To this proposal I willingly agreed.

In fulfilling his offer, Lord Leigh met with serious obstacles. He found that only on extravagant terms could he obtain possession of some of the tenements he desired to remove, but which were let on lease; and I felt bound to restrain his liberality, and accept a diminished site, rather than subject him to an unreasonable outlay in effecting the larger gift he generously desired to make.

The site, at much trouble and cost, was at last cleared, and conveyed to me by Lord Leigh; and upon the site so given now stands the church, consecrated to-day by the Bishop of this diocese, and which, dedicated to St. Alban, commemorates the earliest English martyr recorded in the Calendar of our Church.

St. Alban's Church is free. It has been built especially for the sake of the poor; but, rich or poor, all alike may enter it without fee or payment, and may find in it a place where they may kneel to pray and stand to praise God, and where they may sit to hear the good tidings of the Gospel. Rich and poor may often meet in that church; but as rich and poor are alike in the sight of God, so in that House of God they will meet with no distinctions. But although the church is free, and you will not be permitted to pay for entering it, you will not be debarred from the privilege of making your own free offerings to God. The clergy will be provided for without your aid; but there will be many purposes immediately connected with God's honour, in the maintenance of the church and of its services, to which your alms can be applied. Your district is far from being wealthy —many among you live very hardly upon wages hardly earned; but there are few among you who, if so minded, will not be able to contribute to the offertory, and none who will not find that the habit of giving for God's service tends to their own happiness, and even promotes their wealth, by providing a motive for industry in their calling and for temperance in their living.

It is now acknowledged that the English have as much ability and taste for singing as any other people; and you will do well to apply your voices to their noblest use, by singing heartily in your Parish Church. An organ has been provided to assist and guide your voices, and means will be found to instruct those who desire more perfectly to enjoy together the delightful religious duty of praising God with the voice of melody.

The necessity of raising the windows of the church to a great height, and of making the east end a solid wall, has given occasion to paint the east wall with representations of the chief events connected with our Redeemer's Life and Mission, as they are recited in our Litany. It is hoped that these pictures will assist the young especially, in realising the petitions which they offer, by impressing on their minds the Humility, the Love, the Sufferings, the Power, and the Majesty of their Divine Lord.

The district of St. Alban's, as now constituted, contains more than 6000 souls. Its existing schools, admirably directed by excellent men, are quite insufficient to receive all the children needing religious instruction, and we must look forward to the erection of other schools, which may commence the religious training to be continued at St. Alban's Church, and assist the efforts of its clergy.

I desire that the church, the building of which is now, by God's help, completed, may serve as an expression of my loyal and dutiful allegiance to the Church of England, and I heartily pray that it may be the channel of many spiritual blessings to you

my friends. It will not, I feel sure, fail of its object from any lack of self-denying zeal on the part of him whom the Bishop has set over you. I have the strongest assurance for my confidence that Mr. Mackonochie, as a true and faithful Priest of the Church of England, will affectionately teach and discreetly guide the souls committed to his charge.

To the residents in Baldwin's Gardens is especially commended the care of a Fountain provided for their convenience, and erected close to their own dwellings. The church and the fountain they will protect as their own property—for they are theirs —given to them that they may, without money and without price, draw at the fountain pure water for the refreshment of their bodies, and at the church pure Gospel truth for the refreshment of their souls.

He whom God has favoured by making him, in the bestowal of these gifts, the steward of His own abundant bounty, earnestly entreats your prayers, that he may become less unworthy of the signal honour he has enjoyed in being privileged to raise an house to God's Holy Name—an honour which he would humbly and gratefully record in the words of the pious King David—"Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty . . . both riches and honour come of Thee, and Thou reignest over all: in Thine hand is power and might; and in Thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all. Now, therefore, our God, I thank Thee, and praise Thy glorious Name. But what am I, that I should be able to offer so willingly after this sort?

for all things come of Thee, and of Thine own have I given Thee."—I remain, my friends, your faithful Servant, J. G. HUBBARD.

BIRCHIN LANE,
*February* 21, 1863.

The service of Consecration began soon after 11, and was followed by Morning Prayer and Holy Communion, with special Psalms, Collects, and Introit. The Bishop of London was Celebrant. Mackonochie had wished that the Epistoler should be Bishop Hamilton, and the Gospeller Bishop Wilberforce; but their places were taken by the Rural Dean of Holborn, and the Bishop's chaplain, W. H. Fremantle, afterwards Dean of Ripon. The Bishop preached from 2 Cor. xii. 10: "When I am weak, then am I strong," and "spoke in terms of kindly encouragement of the difficulty and hopefulness of the new work begun in so poor a district." The Responses, Creed, *Sanctus*, and *Gloria* were sung by the choir; there were some 200 communicants, and the alms amounted to £168.

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"It is a solemn act to set apart anything for all time, particularly anything which will not end with time, but will live in its results after time is dead; and when the thing separated for ever is a Temple of the Living God, wherein souls are to be fashioned anew according to His image, then the work is lovely too, as well as very solemn—a work upon which angels surely look, and in which they minister with joy."[1]

[1] W. E. Gladstone.

St. Alban's Church had now fairly started on its course. The staff consisted of the Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie, "Perpetual Curate" (who in later years became "Vicar," in virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in 1868), and three colleagues—the Rev. John Wilberforce Doran, Priest, and the Rev. Henry Aston Walker and the Rev. Arthur Henry Stanton, Deacons.[1] The churchwardens were Mr. J. G. Hubbard, nominated by the Incumbent, and Mr. C. C. Spiller, elected by the parishioners. As churchwarden, Mr. Hubbard retained an official connexion with St. Alban's till 1868, when he retired, and as patron, till 1881, when he transferred the patronage to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. But, having once entrusted the church to the Incumbent of his choice, he was free from all further responsibility for what was said and done in it. From 1863 to 1883 the history of St. Alban's is the history of Mackonochie.

[1] Mr. Walker was ordained Priest at Advent 1863 and Mr. Stanton at Trinity 1864.

# CHAPTER III

## AT WORK

"Never at even, pillowed on a pleasure,
Sleep with the wings of aspiration furled,
Hide the last mite of the forbidden treasure,
Keep for my joys a world within the world."

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

THE clergy of St. Alban's were not the men to let grass grow under their feet. They threw themselves into their new work with incredible energy; and, supported by a goodly company of lay workers, men and women, they soon made their mark on the moral and spiritual life of Baldwin's Gardens. In five years from the consecration of the church, the number of baptisms rose from 295 to 417; of marriages, from 5 to 22; of Easter Communicants from 291 to 569; and the collections from £541 to £1864.

The parochial machinery was elaborate and thorough in a very high degree. True to their vocation as "fishers of men," the clergy of St. Alban's made ample provision for the needs of the body and the mind as well as the soul. The purely spiritual ministrations of the church—Celebrations, services, sermons, and the like—were of course frequent, reverent, hearty, and full alike of outward attractiveness and inward edification. Outside the church, the agencies for good included a Sisterhood, supplied (in 1869) from Clewer; a Burial Society, with a parochial burial-ground; Guilds and

Associations for Men, Boys, Women, and Girls; a Working Men's Club; a Mothers' Meeting; an Infant Nursery; a Choir-School; Parochial Schools, built at a cost of £6000, and educating 500 children; Night-schools for Boys and Girls; a Soup Kitchen; a Blanket-loan Fund; a Lying-in Charity; a Clothing Fund; a Coal Charity; a Savings Bank and Clothing Club; a Shoe Club; a Cricket Club; provision and food for the destitute, and relief for the sick, to the amount of some £500 a year.[1]

All this was the work, directly or indirectly, of Mackonochie and his brother-Priests. Men of good position, of private fortune, of University education, of abilities certainly not below the average —in some respects, which conduce to professional success, conspicuously above it—they gave up, to the work of the Church and the service of the poor, health, means, ease, comfort, the countenance of their ecclesiastical superiors, and all hope of preferment. They made the surrender, not in a sudden gust of soon-repented enthusiasm, but by a deliberate and sustained act of calculated sacrifice. At morning, at noon, at night, in summer and winter, in sickness and in health, in work-days and holiday-time, in popularity and in persecution, these men gave themselves, body and mind and soul, to the work which they had undertaken. Indefatigable in the duties of their sacred office, they laboured far beyond its limits for all that could serve the material and moral interests of those among whom their lot was cast. They worked for public health, for higher and wider education, for all innocent and rational recreation. Not content with

[1] For a full list of these agencies, see Appendix III.

teaching, and preaching, and visiting the sick, and guiding the perplexed, they instructed the ignorant, and comforted the sorrowful, and fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and helped, without pauperizing, the industrious poor. "There is nothing fruitful but sacrifice," said Lamennais, and the sacrifice of the St. Alban's clergy was rich in ethical and social results.

As regards the services of the Church, Mackonochie, acting under the strong advice of his former Vicar at Wantage, determined that the Holy Eucharist, as being "The Lord's Service for the Lord's Day," should be the most conspicuous act of Sunday. He therefore established the "High Mass" at 11 on Sunday morning, which, amid various permutations, has lasted till the present day. His own plan had been to begin with a sung Eucharist at 8 and Mattins at 11.

From the first, the Mixed Chalice, Unleavened Bread, Lights, and white linen Vestments were used at the Altar. Later, some silk Vestments were presented by members of the congregation; but they were not brought into use until the Vicar was satisfied that the ground was well prepared for further advances. At Christmas 1864 white stoles were substituted for black ones, and in 1865 Mackonochie, with characteristic avoidance of fuss, "surprised everybody, and displeased nobody, by appearing at the Altar, on a weekday morning after Trinity, in a green chasuble." The use of Incense was begun at Epiphany 1866.

As regards the music, it should be said that Mr. Doran was Precentor when the church was

opened, but was very soon succeeded by Mr. Walker. It was Mr. Walker who, conjointly with Mr. Stanton, compiled a book of devotions for the "Three Hours" Service, which was observed (for the first time in the Church of England) at St. Alban's on Good Friday, 1864.

"Mr. Walker was an accomplished and refined musician, and had a musician's horror of a choir that attempts to flourish out into musical exploits which it is unable to perform satisfactorily. When he succeeded to the Precentorship, the choir consisted wholly of volunteers. The amount of time that such choirs can give to practice and training is limited, and consequently in most cases all that can be safely attempted by them is good steady unison singing in time and tune. This was all Mr. Walker would allow his choir to aim at in the beginning. The music chosen was of two sharply-contrasted types; each type was presented in its most uncompromising form. When one recalls the character of the music in most 'High Church' places of worship at that time, one is reminded of the preference of one of Gilbert and Sullivan's æsthetes for 'a not *too* French, French bean.' Gregorians were used, carefully trimmed and curtailed so as not to be *too* Gregorian. Hymns were sung, sometimes even to popular tunes, but the tunes were severely toned down to a genteel placidity. But at St. Alban's, Gregorian music pure and undefiled (as it was then understood) was used for the liturgical forms in the services, for the Psalms and Canticles, for Office Hymns, and so forth, while modern devotional hymns were sung to tunes of a modernity of style that sometimes verged on the

rampant. An Oxford musician referred to the St. Alban's tune-book, when writing to Mr. Walker, as 'your collection of jigs and groans'!

"Such was the music in St. Alban's at the beginning. It has passed through many differing phases since then, and has gained a name and fame for great artistic perfection, but from the first it had a note of distinction which one could not but be conscious of; some did not like the 'jigs,' some did not care for the 'groans,' but whatever was sung, was sung perfectly after its kind. Mr. Walker was a man of marked personality, who drew forth feelings of strong attachment from those who became his friends, but he was rather a terror to evil-doers. He ruled his choir with justice, but with a rod of iron; his word was law.

"In all his ways, Mr. Walker was ably and loyally seconded by Thomas Morley, the first organist of the church. Morley was a man with many charming qualities, and was a most brilliant executant. Unlike many brilliant musicians, Morley was a fervent admirer of Gregorian music; he used to declare that in the eight tones might be found the concentrated essence of all music. The volunteer choir of those distant days should always be had in grateful remembrance, as being a body of men and youths who gave their services to the Church and parish when help was most urgently needed, and gave it 'all for love, and nothing for reward.'"[1]

By the year 1866, St. Alban's had reached a standard in ritual matters which was then indeed highly exalted, but is to-day quite commonplace. The Holy Eucharist was the principal service of

[1] The Very Rev. Provost Ball.

Sunday. It was duly performed by Celebrant, Gospeller, and Epistoler; vestments, lights, and incense were used; the music was carefully rendered; a sermon was always preached in its appointed place; there was a large body of worshippers, and there were a few communicants; the majority of the congregation having, of course, communicated at the earlier celebrations.

The devotional effect produced by this order of service was happily described in a letter addressed to Mr. Hubbard, in January 1866, by an old acquaintance, who desired to thank him for "the beautiful church of St. Alban the Martyr," and the staff of clergy who served it:

"I am no enthusiastic young proselyte; but was born of, and carefully educated by, High Church parents, and have for thirty years of active life steadily held High Church principles—at some periods under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty.

"I can say that never, till the complete development of the Eucharistic Services at St. Alban's Church, did my mind realise the great and distinctive obligations of Eucharistic worship and Eucharistic Communion, or the fearful, the urgent, necessity to seek out some 'discreet and learned Minister of God's Word, and open my grief,' to the end that I might with 'a quiet conscience' communicate with the Faithful, as well as adore with the Believers."

The standard of worship now established at St. Alban's was not more exalted than that of several other churches; but somehow or other it acquired more notoriety. Those were the days when the Ritualistic Reporter was abroad in the land. He

described Clergy "habited in simple chasubles, with their academical hoods trimmed with ermine." He saw "Green and golden priests," Thurifers swung in procession, and Acolytes suspended from Rood-Screens. He reported that one priest rode round his church on a donkey;[1] that another sacrificed a lamb on Good Friday, and that the curates of a third "practised celibacy in the open street." When he visited St. Alban's, he was startled to find "a sexton sitting by the door, with a black cap on his head such as judges wear when passing sentence on the worst of criminals." Another of the same craft found "a desk like that used by musicians, from which the lessons are read, and a stool entirely devoted to the Litany." A third reported that all the chorister-boys "wore chasubles over long gowns." A fourth saw a priest in "a white dimity dressing-gown with green trimmings." Very pleasant is this touch of personal description. "Mr. Stanton's hood was fearfully and wonderfully put on, and the effect of his dark, fine-cut face against the deep crimson silk was very monastic indeed."

One lyrical outburst claims insertion. It forms part of a poem, in which all the Ritualistic leaders of the period passed in imaginary procession before the poet's mental gaze:

> "Stanton, with hyacinthine locks,
> Bore a portable confession-box,
> While 'Father Mac,' in a purple vest,
> Was looking his very illegallest."

The venerable Lord Shaftesbury, who was nothing

[1] As late as 1872, Mackonochie received a letter, asking if it was true that on the previous Palm Sunday he had ridden "an ass" in procession. See p. 67.

if not rhetorical, thus described the service at St. Alban's on the 22nd of July 1866. "In outward form and ritual, it is the worship of Jupiter and Juno. It may be Heaven itself in the inward sense, which none but God can penetrate. A *high altar*, reached by several steps, a cross over it, and no end of pictures. The chancel very large, and separated from the body of the church by a tall iron grille. Abundance of servitors in Romish apparel. Service intoned and sung, except the Lessons, by priests with white surplices and green stripes.

"This being ended, a sudden clearance. All disappeared. In a few minutes, the organ, the choristers, abundant officials, and three priests in green silk robes, the middle priest having on his back a cross embroidered as long as his body. This was the beginning of the sacramental service (quarter-past eleven), the whole having begun at half-past ten. Then ensued such a scene of theatrical gymnastics, of singing, screaming, genuflections, such a series of strange movements of the priests, their backs almost always to the people, as I never saw before even in a Romish Temple. Clouds upon clouds of incense, the censer frequently refreshed by the High Priest, who kissed the spoon, as he dug out the sacred powder, and swung it about at the end of a silver chain. The Priests in the chancel, and the Priest when he mounted the pulpit, crossing themselves each time, once on the forehead, and once on his right and left breast. A quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, sufficed to administer to about seventy Communicants, out of perhaps six hundred present; an hour and three-quarters were given to the histrionic part. The Communicants went up to the

tune of soft music, as though it had been a melodrama, and one was astonished, at the close, that there was no fall of the curtain.

"God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth. Is our Blessed Lord obeyed in such observances and ceremonials? Do we thus lead souls to Christ or to Baal?"

But other visitors displayed acuter perceptions. According to the gossip of the time, Dean Stanley told Bishop Tait that he had been to St. Alban's, and, when the Bishop asked what he had seen, replied, "I saw three men in green, and you will find it difficult to put them down." We learn from Bishop Wilberforce's *Life* that, being minded to see for himself what Ritualism was, he attended the High Celebration at St. Alban's on Sunday, February 11, 1866. "Walker, Cleaver,[1] and Stanton officiating; Walker, Celebrant. Stanton preached an earnest, useful, practical sermon on Fasting, its duties, uses, difficulties, and temptations —thoroughly Evangelical, but rather an imitation of Liddon. Congregation grave, earnest, devout; large proportion of strangers; but, except the prostration and the incensing, I thought it far better in effect than I expected."

One who, as a layman, was closely associated with St. Alban's in its early days writes as follows:—

"I have never been able to come to a reasoned conclusion as to exactly *what it was* that constituted the attractive charm which St. Alban's certainly exercised during its first period. People of all classes seemed drawn to it from near and far.

[1] The Rev. W. H. Cleaver was an occasional assistant at St. Alban's.

Why? One has stood at a window of the Clergy House on a Sunday forenoon and seen Brooke Street lined, down to Holborn, with carriages of all descriptions, (there were no motors in those days,) conveying persons of all ranks to the service. But why did all these people come? The personality of the clergy accounted for something, for a great deal; but not for everything. The church itself, and the services, went for something. And yet the church, at that time, though stately, was singularly bare, and the altar crudely severe even to ugliness. The music of the services was (as has been described) either sternly ecclesiastical, or simply popular, and the ceremonial was as yet undeveloped, and of the mildest character; yet those who were drawn felt that there was a charm about the church and services quite in addition to that which emanated from the personal qualities of the clergy. In what did this charm consist? I really do not know, but it did exist, and was an attractive power."

The question asked in the foregoing extract is to some extent answered by the following statement of a beneficed clergyman, who thus describes his early acquaintance with St. Alban's:—

"My first visit was on an evening (I think the Wednesday) of Holy Week 1866, and the only association I have with that service is the tune 'Abridge,' no doubt sung to the hymn 'Some sing, O Christ, Thine awful power,' to which, I see, it is set in the St. Alban's book. I went again the following Easter Eve, when, kneeling in a long queue, Mr. Mackonochie's penitents (it was 'Mr. Mackonochie' in those days, I think, rather than 'Father') waited their turn for confession, not, as

soon afterwards was the case, in the open church, but in the old vestry, the door being left open.

"As far as I can remember, my first Sunday morning service at St. Alban's must have been in the following September. I had just been abroad for the first time and had attended services in the Belgian churches, but had not seen an ornate ceremonial in England, and the vestments were quite a novelty in our churches then. It was the Trinity season, and at the altar were the 'three men in green,' reported by Dean Stanley to Bishop Tait. More notable than the ritual was the preacher, for, so far as I can recall, I must have then heard Stanton for the first time. I can only remember the text, a striking and characteristic one—no doubt from the Epistle for the day—'From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.' I think there was in the early time more of the French element in Stanton's preaching, more of the abstract, and perhaps less of the homeliness and humour which soon came to characterize his preaching, but in the main it was the same. From the first there was his charm of sympathy. It was always *cor ad cor loquitur.*

"Among the minor contributory causes of the unfailing interest Stanton creates, is his capacity for surprising; as on a celebrated occasion, at a critical moment in the Ritual troubles, with the church crowded, and all in suppressed excitement, eager to hear what at such a moment would be the message from the pulpit of St. Alban's. Then the text, 'He giveth snow like wool, and scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes,' and a sermon, quite admirable, on the *Weather*, with no allusion whatever to the Privy

Council. I do not know what the reporters made of it. At another time, when everyone's feelings were wrought to the highest degree of affectionate sympathy, and fear of some extreme measure against the beloved vicar, Stanton expressed and relieved the universal feeling and deeply moved everyone by his address, preached (with Mr. Mackonochie in his place at the sedilia) on the words 'O man, greatly beloved, fear not, peace be with thee; be strong, yea, be strong.'

"His intense spirit of fraternity came out particularly in the sermons on successive St. Martin's Days,[1] which probably brought his audience nearer to the secret of his work than anything else. It is in this respect and in this direction, I expect, that the influence of St. Alban's has reached quarters that would perhaps have been insufficiently touched by the type of worship that it set; and here was kindled the burning and shining light that has lightened distant places, which hardly knew the origin of the flame that warmed them.

"During the years of which alone I can speak the evening sermons, and also those on some other important occasions, such as the Three Hours on Good Friday, were preached by Mr. Mackonochie. However advantageous it may have been to the cause of 'Ritualism' that it should be represented before the public by one of Mackonochie's saintly and lofty character, it has always appeared to those who loved him a perversity of circumstance, that the teacher who guided them with such wisdom and love in the Christian life should have been entangled in the turmoils which are recorded in his *Life*. That beautiful

[1] See Appendix III.

and pathetic story gives a faithful picture of the man. I am not sure that I have ever read anywhere what seemed to me quite an adequate estimate of his preaching. For people concerned first of all for the salvation and sanctification of their souls, Mackonochie was, I really think, a perfect preacher —of course I am speaking of the substance and effect of his preaching, for his voice was poor. But drawbacks such as that were as nothing when, from the pulpit, this true man of God fed us with God's word and inspired us by his own transparent sincerity and devotion. I have sometimes thought he must have been rather like Ravignan in style, and still more in character: I should think there was much of the same dignity, simplicity, fervour, and directness. The Good Fridays were wonderful; the 'Three Hours' were to him, apparently, nearly the only change of occupation which he took from the long hours of Confessions. At night, when a full round of services had been completed, and the church partly darkened, Mackonochie appeared again in the pulpit, to give, with voice weakened by the day's labours, a closing Meditation on the Entombment, or a kindred subject. The next morning, Easter Eve, immediately after his Eucharistic Thanksgiving, he gave another Meditation, bearing usually on preparation for the Easter Communion. The Passion, as is noted in his *Life*, was the supreme subject of his teaching; as one looks back that is the theme that stands out, and it was impossible not to feel that it was a school in which he was perpetually learning, as well as the dominant topic of his preaching. I should think that, when the circumstances of his death, in some aspects so

sorrowful and desolate, were first known to those accustomed to his guidance and teaching, there must have been many who, though they could not, of course, have anticipated it, were yet prepared for some special sign of conformity to the Cross, and some token of response to his devotion to it, and who recognised it in what was appointed him.

"As I have said, Mackonochie had a poor voice. It was indeed a singularly unmusical one, but this never deterred him from taking his full part as celebrant; and years after, when I have had to sing the Preface in my own church, I have often encouraged myself by the reflection that however bad the result, it could scarcely be worse than Mackonochie's singing of it. Mention of his voice recalls his peculiar emphasis in giving the notices, when, as occasionally, it fell to him to do so. 'Our Holy Mother the Church of England' occupied for years the first place in the long list of sick persons (and was once mistaken by a Protestant visitor for a prayer for the B.V.M.), and the high note to which the speaker raised his voice in notifying that 'There are pickpockets in church' has impressed that disturbing phrase for ever on the memory of more than one of his hearers.

"I have mentioned that I could find nothing by which to mark my first visit to St. Alban's but an old-fashioned hymn-tune. But I am sure that in any story of St. Alban's, and in any account of its wonderful appeal and influence, the St. Alban's hymn-book should be mentioned.[1] Of the music in general, of course, I can say nothing whatever, and specially

[1] The book consisted of *The Hymnal Noted*, with appendices added by the Rev. H. A. Walker and the Rev. T. I. Ball.

of the 'grand music' which I suppose began to be developed to its perfection after the early years. But the hymns have always been a feature. I suppose that the limited use of this book in other churches is accounted for by its cost and its clumsiness; it consists so largely of supplements and appendices, and the smallest and least characteristic part of it is that which gives it its name. But apart from these inconveniences, it seems to me incomparable among English Church hymn-books. What other, *e.g.*, could one think of using as a book of devotion? There is nothing to compare with the great Wesleyan book except the St. Alban's one. Together with some of the best hymns from mediæval sources, it contains a really rich selection of those of evangelical writers, and the hymns of Charles Wesley, Montgomery, Doddridge, Watts, Bonar, are found in abundance, and intact. The musical part, I should think, is equally strong. How well chosen too were the hymns for the seasons! What lover of St. Alban's does not associate Easter with Faber's 'All hail, dear Conqueror!' and the Epiphany with 'Lo! the pilgrim Magi'? and, above all, where are the hymns of the Passion sung in England with such devotion as there? In this surely important matter touching the worship, I imagine that much was owing to the late Rev. H. A. Walker.

"As to the look of things in the old time, of course, it was much less rich than now. Not only was the Font without its gorgeous cover, but at the east end, in place of the magnificent reredos, was one that was far from magnificent; though I must confess that it has occurred to me that the church loses a little in apparent length

by the present great work which imposes itself as one enters. The only Crucifix was the one opposite the pulpit. 'This church of ten thousand draughts,' as Stanton called it, looks now as if it must be draughtier still, with the more open appearance at the south-west corner, with aisles or passages leading to the chapels; but I have never heard that it is so.

"I will say no more. It is quite impossible to say what one feels most about this place; as, after all, St. Alban's is not a 'memory'; and what we all treasure most there are 'the things'—and above all, the persons—'that remain'; and of these how can one speak?"

I said just now that the "Three Hours" service was first introduced into the Church of England at St. Alban's; and a description of it by an eye-witness who attended St. Alban's on Good Friday, 1866, may be inserted in this place.

"Handbills bearing on the subject of Good Friday had been left with every family in the parish, a step which seemed to have had a very salutary effect. Last year, the church was *fairly* full. The year before, it certainly was *not* full. Yesterday, it was as certainly *over* full; kneeling-room was not to be found in the accustomed places, and chairs and benches had to be provided for the crowd of people. Such a sight, of so large a body of men—one-half the church being filled with the sterner sex—I do not suppose could be seen elsewhere in England. And it is with much satisfaction that I can assert that *The Devotion of the Three Hours*, which St. Alban's has had the honour to restore to the English Church, has proved itself to be, in the best sense of the word, so thoroughly popular.

Perhaps, for the sake of some readers, I may be allowed to repeat the order employed. First, Mr. Mackonochie gave an explanation of the service, and on this we meditated awhile in silence; and I may say that the sight of that vast assembly (for the most part) on their knees in rapt meditation was as striking as it was cheering. At the close of this meditation a hymn was sung—'Oh, come and mourn with me awhile'—with a heartiness, swing, and devotion which surprised those who were strangers to St. Alban's. Then came the orderly arrangement, which was repeated six times. The preacher first read aloud one of the Seven Last Words of our Divine Lord. The choir then chaunted them with music. The preacher next preached on them with devout eloquence, and gave, at the close of each sermon, the three points for private meditation. The congregation then knelt awhile, and followed out in mental prayer his directions, while the organist played a very devotional selection of sacred music. Lastly, we rose from our knees, and sang, with organ accompaniment, a hymn appropriate to the 'Word' which formed the preacher's text. After this was gone through seven times, Mr. Mackonochie 'gathered up the fragments that remained,' gave us some sound advice for future guidance, enjoined mutual intercession, and sent us away with God's blessing.

"Such was the Good Friday which we had the good fortune to be allowed to spend at St. Alban's. I trust that many churches have this year followed so worthy an example, and that many more may do so next year. Why some churches, where it might have been expected, failed to provide so

edifying a service, in the very portion of Good Friday which seems to cry aloud for such devotional exercises, their Incumbents can best say. If we believe in the effectual and fervent prayer that availeth much, a special Office seems to be required to make some, though small, reparation for the hideous desecration of this Day of Days, in this country and this metropolis. May I then venture to appeal to many brethren, who are doubtless anxious to do something in the cause, to follow the example of St. Alban's next year, if God permits? The above details may prove that if the will be present, the way can easily be found."

The present writer may be allowed to add his deliberate opinion that, in conducting the "Three Hours" Service, Mackonochie was supremely good. Of sensationalism, sentimentality, mawkishness, and gush — the besetting sins of preachers on the Passion—there never was a trace. The addresses were simple, direct, searching, and intensely practical. All through, there was the solemn reminder —sometimes expressed in words and sometimes only implied, but never forgotten—that He to Whom these things were done was Very and Eternal God. And this tremendous truth gave a constraining force to the lesson of practical duty which was elicited from each Word. To take one example only: those who fondly believe that nothing is ever heard from a "Ritualistic" pulpit except formalism and dogma, would have been delivered from their curious delusion if they had ever heard Mackonochie enforcing the lessons latent in "Behold thy son. Behold thy mother." Many a woman must have been saved from heart-piercing

sorrow, and many a man from self-accusing retrospects, by that plain insistence on the mutual love of son and mother.

So far, the work of St. Alban's had been prosperous and happy; but now trouble was nigh at hand. By 1860, the "Tractarian" Movement, issuing from Oxford in 1833, had done its work. It had survived the two tremendous shocks of 1845 and 1850; it had established the theoretical soundness of the Catholic position; and it had won to its side a considerable number of the wealthy, the learned, and the highly placed. But, so far, it had failed to reach the poor; and the consciousness that this was so gave rise to what was soon nicknamed "Ritualism." A generation of young and earnest men, fresh from the Universities, were beginning to make proof of their ministry in London and other large towns; and, seeing that the old Tractarianism somehow failed to lay hold on the common people, they determined to appeal to the eye as well as the mind and the conscience. Their theology was what the Oxford leaders had been teaching ever since 1833, and what one great historic school in the Church had taught ever since the Reformation; but hitherto it had never been expressed in visible and intelligible forms. Now, what had only been preached verbally in the pulpit began to be preached by act and deed at the Altar. The new development centred in the Altar, proceeded from it, circled round it. The most characteristic feature of the Tractarian theology had been its bold assertion of the Objective Presence in the Eucharist under the forms of bread

and wine. The successors of the Tractarians saw that, if this great Reality was to be understood, it must be expressed by such a form of worship as should be intelligible and significant, not only to trained theologians, but also to the least-instructed worshippers—to the young, the ignorant, the poor, and even the indifferent. This was the genesis of Ritualism.

The revival of religious ceremonial was full of zeal, but the zeal was not always according to knowledge, nor indeed could it be. The riches of English liturgiology were known only to a few experts; and those who desired to impart dignity or splendour to English services were perforce reduced to copying Continental practices, and consulting the oracles of Italy or Belgium. This was done freely, and the result was an unfortunate approximation to the external aspect of Roman worship, even in churches where the doctrine taught was thoroughly and loyally English. That approximation—sometimes degenerating into slavish imitation—gave Protestant malcontents and Puritan persecutors exactly the occasion which they required. "This," they said, "is Popery"; and, as far as externals were concerned, it was difficult to contradict them.

Some distant but ominous growls, which had been heard in the earlier 'sixties, were the precursors of disturbance; and in 1866 a storm of anti-ritualistic fury burst upon the church.[1] The Ritualistic re-

[1] On the 12th of May 1865, Bishop Tait said in the House of Lords that, in consequence of information which he had received, he had requested the Archdeacon of London to visit St. Alban's Church, and that the Archdeacon's report was in the hands of the Chancellor of the Diocese.

porter plied his craft, and by his strange burlesques of what he saw made confusion worse confounded. The Bishops, more than usually pavid, huddled together for protection against the storm, and uttered their fears in Charges, and Addresses, and Replies to Deputations. The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury showed stronger nerve, and tried to find a way of compromise, distinguishing between what were and what were not lawful practices. The English Church Union sought a legal Opinion on the points at issue; and this Opinion, which bore among others the signature of Sir Robert Phillimore, the chief ecclesiastical lawyer of the day, affirmed the legality of the vestments and the altar-lights, but pronounced the ceremonial use of incense illegal. The *Times* opened its columns, during the "Silly Season," to letters on Ritualism, which in their dimensions exceeded the Enormous Gooseberry, and in their demands on public credulity rivalled the Sea Serpent. Early in 1867 the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation passed a Resolution ending with these words: "Our judgment is that no alterations from long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought to be made in our churches until the sanction of the Bishop of the Diocese has been obtained thereto." Parliament had now met, and the indefatigable Lord Shaftesbury introduced into the House of Lords a Bill for giving the force of law to Canon 38, which enjoins that every minister officiating in Divine Service shall wear "a decent and comely surplice, with sleeves." His hope was that he could thus make the vestments illegal, and the Bishops were disposed to support him. But Bishop Wilberforce was strongly opposed

to this "suicidal" policy, and sought the powerful aid of Mr. Gladstone, who, hearing from Archbishop Longley what was proposed, gave it "the worst reception I could possibly give it, without departing from any great personal respect and deference to the Archbishop. . . . I am afraid it would throw me into a very anti-Episcopal position." This energetic intervention frightened the Bishops, who dropped their project with all convenient speed, and consented to take instead a Royal Commission, which should enquire into all the rubrics governing the celebration of Divine Worship. It sat, examined, and reported innocuously at a later date; and thus, as Bishop Wilberforce said, Gladstone was "enabled to stay this counsel of fear which threatened destruction." Meanwhile, Mackonochie had taken an important step towards conciliation. In January 1867, he issued an address to his parishioners, reminding them of the danger of losing charity and thinking evil concerning those who differed from them. "People," he said, "have taken to call us 'Ritualists.' Knowing how small a share in my own thoughts (and I believe in yours) the mere question of ritual occupies, I confess to thinking the name a somewhat unsuitable one; but if we are not to be called what the Prayer Book calls us—Catholics—we may as well be called by one name as another. Having, however, called us by this name, they, not unnaturally, attack the ritual of the church. I will say, then, a few words about this, as it is most desirable that you should know as much as I can tell you." He then went on to refer to the Report on Ritual presented by the Lower House of Con-

vocation in the previous summer, to the legal Opinion obtained by the English Church Union, and to the recent Charge of the Bishop of London. "All these considerations (but especially the wish of the Bishop and the opinion of Convocation) have moved me, after consultation with other parish priests, to make such alterations as will bring our service into harmony with the expressed wishes of the Lower House of Convocation. These will consist in discontinuing the use of incense for censing persons and things, and in discontinuing the Elevation of the Blessed Sacrament as at present practised. I must tell you, for your own satisfaction, that the less obtrusive Elevation indicated in the words of the Prayer Book, 'Here the priest is to take the paten into his hand,' and 'here he is to take the cup into his hand,' is quite sufficient for the ritual purpose, that, namely, of making the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice to God. The use of incense will now be discontinued at the beginning of the service, at the Gospel, and at the Offertory. Before the Consecration Prayer the censer will be brought in. At the Consecration, incense will be put into it by the thurifer, but it will not be used, as at present, 'for censing persons and things.' This is a mode of using incense allowed by the ecclesiastical 'Opinion,' and not disallowed by the legal one."

These changes were introduced at Epiphany 1867; and Mackonochie, with characteristic regard for all the proprieties which should mark the relation between Parish Priest and Diocesan, notified them at once to Bishop Tait, who replied on the 8th of January as follows: "I hail the desire which you

express in your letter to make the service at St. Alban's more accordant with my wishes, and with what I feel convinced are the requirements of the Church of England, and I shall be glad to learn that the changes which you, on full consideration, make in the service, go so far as to remove what is a serious stumbling-block to so many attached members of our Church."

This courteous and even friendly acknowledgment (followed by a willing consent that the Bishop of Dunedin[1] should confirm at St. Alban's in Lent), must have left Mackonochie wholly unprepared for the next stage of the controversy; but a new and unpleasant agency had begun to operate.

"THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION" had been founded in 1865, and Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates* says, rather jejunely, that "it was formed to counteract Popery and Ritualism." Its ruling spirits were not exactly men of light and leading, but many of them were rich; for, as Archbishop Benson remarked, "there is something in 'Protestant Truth' which is very concordant with wealth." They had, like all Low Churchmen, an intense belief in legalism, and they attached great value to the intrusion of the State into the province of the Church. A lawsuit, which should result in the suppression of Ritualism by judicial authority, was an enchanting prospect, and, casting about for a victim, they found him ready to their hand. By this time St. Alban's, with its modified usages, was by no means in the forefront of churches called Ritualistic. There were several others, both in London and in the provinces, where more elaborate ceremonial was used. Why

[1] H. L. Jenner.

then was St. Alban's singled out for persecution? Partly, perhaps, because the newspapers, ever since its consecration, had been describing, misrepresenting, and misinterpreting its services. Partly, as Dr. Littledale once suggested, because the Church Association was "quick to see much more danger in the spread of ornate services to the classes represented in the congregation of St. Alban's, than had threatened as long as they were confined to such churches as St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico." It is difficult to repress the thought that, besides these considerations, there must have been an element of personal malevolence in a series of persecutions which spread over nearly twenty years, and pursued its victim from one parish to another, though the incriminated practices went on unchecked when others were responsible for them.

The inner history of these things is for the disclosures of the Great Day. Here it must suffice to say that early in 1867 the Church Association determined to prosecute Mackonochie. The difficulty was to find a "Promoter" for the suit, and after some delays, that unpleasing task was entrusted to Mr. John Martin, a solicitor residing in the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, but technically qualified for the purpose by the fact that his name stood on the rate-book of the district of St. Alban's, as Secretary of a school situate therein. This was the very school which was described in the first chapter as having been a centre of good works in Baldwin's Gardens, before St. Alban's was erected—a curious conjuncture of circumstances. It is due to Mr. Martin's memory to record his own account of this transaction:

"The then Bishop of London[1] considered I was more suited to be Promoter of the suit than the resident parishioner whose name had been submitted to his Lordship on the sudden death of the first Promoter. I personally should not have moved, and was reluctant to give my consent."

Archbishop Tait's obsequious biographers assign no reason for the fact that, not three months after Mackonochie's concessions and Tait's acknowledgment of them, the Bishop signed "Letters of Request" transmitting the Church Association's charges against Mackonochie to the Court of Arches. It is within a Bishop's absolute discretion to grant "Letters of Request" or to refuse them; but the temptation was too strong to be resisted. From his early days as a tutor at Oxford till the last autumn of his life, Tait showed a peculiar fondness for persecuting the Catholic party, and in him the Church Association found a tool made ready for their purpose.

Mr. Martin's letter, just quoted, proves that, before the suit was actually begun, there had been some unseemly colloguings between the Bishop and the prosecutors; and on the 28th of March 1867, the Letters of Request were signed.

So began the memorable suit of "Martin *v.* Mackonochie," but the details of it and of its consequences belong properly to the next chapter.

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POSTSCRIPT TO p. 47

REV. SIR,—I have heard a report that on Palm Sunday last the procession in St. Alban's, Holborn,

[1] A. C. Tait.

was composed of the usual number of acolytes, choir, and Priests bearing palms, and an ass, ridden by yourself in imitation of the entry into Jerusalem.

I need hardly say my utter disbelief that an ass was introduced into the procession, but I should be very glad if you will give me leave to contradict it on your own authority.—Your obedient servant,

T. MALET.

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DEAR SIR,—St. Alban's Church is not the *Pons Asinorum*—at least, in the absence of your informant.—Yours very truly

In our Blessed Lord,

A. H. MACKONOCHIE.

*Whitsun Monday*, 1872.

# CHAPTER IV

## LAW *V.* GOSPEL

"The true spirit is to search after God and for another life with lowliness of heart; to fling down no man's altar, to punish no man's prayer; to heap no penalties and no pains on those solemn supplications which, in divers tongues, and in varied forms, and in temples of a thousand shapes, but with one deep sense of human dependence, men pour forth to God."—SYDNEY SMITH.

"THE Court of Arches," says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "is a court of appeal belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whereof the Judge (who sits as deputy to the Archbishop) is called the *Dean of the Arches;* because he antiently held his court in the church of St. Mary-le-bow (Sancta Maria de Arcubus). Many suits, also, are brought before him as original judge, the cognizance of which properly belongs to inferior jurisdictions within the Province, but in respect of which the inferior judge has waived his jurisdiction, under a certain form of proceeding known in the Canon Law by the denomination of Letters of Request."

The Church Discipline Act (3 and 4 Vict. c. 86) enacted that no criminal proceeding against a clerk for an ecclesiastical offence should be brought in any ecclesiastical court *otherwise* than by Letters of Request from the Bishop to the Dean of Arches; but the Bishop could issue or withhold those Letters at his discretion. If he withheld them, the suit fell to the ground.

Before the rupture with Rome, an appeal lay from the Archbishop's "Court of Arches" to the Pope, but by the statute of 25 Henry VIII, c. 19, appeals to Rome were abolished, and a fresh Court of Appeal was erected. This was called "The Court of Delegates"—*judices delegati*—"appointed by commission under the Great Seal, and issuing out of Chancery, to represent the Royal Person and hear the appeal. This Court commonly consisted of three puisné judges from the Courts of Common Law, together with three or more civilians."

A vivacious account of these Ecclesiastical Courts, which were held in Doctors' Commons, and which Dickens had attended as a reporter, is to be found in *Sketches by Boz*, and is supplemented in *David Copperfield*.

"A small, green-baized, brass-headed-nailed door, yielding to our gentle push, at once admitted us into an old quaint-looking apartment, with sunken windows, and black carved wainscoting, at the upper end of which, seated on a raised platform of semi-circular shape, were about half-a-dozen solemn-looking gentlemen, in wigs and crimson gowns. At a more elevated desk in the centre, sat a very fat and red-faced gentleman, in tortoise-shell spectacles, whose dignified appearance announced the Judge; and at a long green-baized table below, something like a billiard-table without the cushions and pockets, were a number of very self-important-looking personages, in stiff neckcloths, and black gowns with white fur collars, whom we at once set down as Proctors. At the lower end of the billiard-table was a gentleman in an armchair and a wig, whom

we discovered to be the Registrar. Seated behind a little desk near the door, were a respectable-looking man in black; and a fat-faced body in a black gown, black kid gloves, knee-shorts, and silk stockings, with a silver staff in his hand, whom we had no difficulty in recognizing as the Officer of the Court. The latter, indeed, speedily set our minds at rest upon this point, for he had communicated to us, in less than five minutes, that he was the Apparitor, and the other the Court-keeper; that this was the Arches Court, and therefore the counsel wore red gowns, and the proctors fur collars; and that, when the other courts sit there, they don't wear red gowns or fur collars either, with many other scraps of intelligence equally interesting."

This description of the material aspect of the Ecclesiastical Courts should be read in connexion with Mr. Spenlow's account of their procedure. "He launched into a general eulogium of Doctors' Commons. What was to be particularly admired (he said) in the Commons, was its compactness. It was the most conveniently organized place in the world. It was the complete idea of snugness. It lay in a nutshell. For example: You brought a Divorce case, or a Restitution case, into the Consistory. You made a quiet little round game of it, among a family group, and you played it out at leisure. Suppose you were not satisfied with the Consistory, what did you do then? Why, you went into the Arches. What was the Arches? The same Court, in the same room, with the same Bar, and the same practitioners, but another Judge; for there the Consistory Judge could plead any Court-day as an Advocate. Well, you played your

round game out again. Still you were not satisfied. Very good. What did you do then? Why, you went to the Delegates. Who were the Delegates? Why, the Ecclesiastical Delegates were the Advocates without any business, who had looked on at the round game when it was playing in both Courts, and had seen the cards shuffled, and cut, and played, and had talked to all the players about it, and now came fresh, as judges, to settle the matter to the satisfaction of everybody."

The Court of Delegates was abolished by Act of Parliament 2 & 3 Will. IV, c. 92, and the appellate jurisdiction which it had heretofore exercised was transferred to the King in Council. By the Act 3 & 4 of Will. IV, c. 41, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was constituted as the tribunal for exercising this appellate jurisdiction; and so, though no one then suspected it, the way was prepared for a controversy which has lasted to our own time. It is to be borne in mind that the Court of Delegates had exercised its appellate jurisdiction over all the wide field which was then covered by the Civil Law. Besides strictly ecclesiastical offences, such as "brawling" in church, it dealt with all matrimonial suits, all testamentary suits, and even with appeals from the High Court of Admiralty. And these departments of the business bulked so large in the public eye that, when the Court was abolished, its spiritual jurisdiction seems to have been overlooked. In 1850 Lord Brougham, who as Chancellor had carried the alteration, said that "the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had been framed without the expectation of religious questions being brought before it"; and Bishop

Blomfield of London said that "the question of doctrinal appeals was not alluded to, and the contingency of such appeals came into no one's mind."[1]

But, though the Court of Delegates was abolished and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council set up in its place, the Court of Arches remained, very much as Dickens had drawn it; and to that tribunal the suit of Martin *v.* Mackonochie was referred by Bishop Tait. When the Letters of Request were issued, the Dean of the Arches was the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L. (1782–1873), who had first attained celebrity as Counsel for Queen Caroline and one of her executors. He followed the profession of a civilian; held a great many offices of profit in the Ecclesiastical Courts; and as Assessor to Archbishop Sumner, condemned Archdeacon Denison for teaching the Real Objective Presence.

In a court thus curiously constituted, and before a judge in his eighty-seventh year, Mackonochie was cited to appear. The citation was issued on the 5th of April 1867, and the hearing of the case began on the 15th of June. In his Annual Address to the congregation on St. Alban's Day 1867, the Vicar thus commended the cause to their consciences:

"The battle must be fought in your prayers, and before God's Altar. If our daily Eucharist be attended by double the present numbers; if

[1] These observations were made in the House of Lords on the Second Reading of a Bill, brought in by Bishop Blomfield, to establish an Ecclesiastical Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical causes.

there be a great and growing increase in communicants, and in the frequency and devotion of their communions, we shall prevail. If we lose, it will not be because we have broken the law, but because we have not deserved God's help."

On the 30th of July, Dr. Lushington resigned his office; and he was succeeded by Sir Robert Phillimore (1810–85), who was generally considered the first ecclesiastical lawyer of his time. On the 4th of December the hearing of the case was resumed before the new judge. A similar case, "Flamank *v.* Simpson," had been transmitted to the Court of Arches from the Diocese of Exeter: the judge consolidated the two, and tried them together.

The charges against Mackonochie were: (1) elevation of the Blessed Sacrament; (2) use of Incense; (3) the mixed Chalice; (4) kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration; (5) lighted candles on the Holy Table. It was alleged by the prosecution that all these things were "in effect, rites and ceremonies other than, and additional to, those prescribed in the Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity."

After a long and patient hearing, and much forensic display on both sides, Sir Robert Phillimore's Judgment was delivered on the 28th of March 1868. It was honourably differentiated from previous rulings of Ecclesiastical Courts by the fact that it clearly recognized the continuity of the Church of England, before, through, and since the Reformation, and repudiated the notion that the Church was a new body dating from the sixteenth century. Throughout the Judgment, all questions of rubrical direction were interpreted in the light of Anglican tradition and usage. As far as Mackonochie's case was

concerned (and we have no business with the other), the points decided were as follows:

1. That it is not lawful to elevate the cup and paten during the celebration of the Holy Communion in a greater degree than is necessary to comply with the rubric.

2. That it is not lawful to use incense for censing persons and things, or to bring in incense at the beginning of, or during, the Celebration, and to remove it at the end of the Celebration.

3. That it is not lawful to mix water with the wine during the Celebration (though perhaps such mixture might be made before the service begins).

4. That it is not unlawful for the Celebrant to kneel during the Prayer of Consecration; at least, unless the Bishop has in his discretion made an order forbidding it.

5. That it is lawful to place two lights upon the Holy Table during the Celebration.

No order was made as to costs; and, as regards the points ruled, it will be remembered that Mackonochie had already, before the suit was begun, altered his mode of elevating so as to bring it strictly within the requirements of the rubric, and had discontinued the practice of censing persons and things; so the way was prepared for compliance with the Judgment, and on the 31st of March 1868, Mackonochie wrote as follows to Bishop Tait:

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—It is due to your Lordship that I should communicate to you as soon as possible my intentions with regard to the Judgment of the Arches Court in the case sent to it by your Lordship by Letters of Request. According

to the account of that Judgment in the public papers (which I assume to be correct) I am "admonished to abstain for the future from the use of incense, and from mixing water with the wine, as pleaded in these articles; and, further, not to recur to the practice, which I have abandoned under protest, with regard to the elevation of the Blessed Sacrament, and the censing persons and things."

I have taken a few days to consider what course it is my duty to take under this Judgment, and have decided to abide by it, without appeal to the higher Court, unless compelled to do so by any act on the part of the promoter. It will, I know, be most satisfactory to many of my friends that I should thus accept the decision of the highest Court which claims spiritual authority, rather than appeal to a civil tribunal. At the same time, I cannot but feel the deepest thankfulness that a Judgment, conceived in such a spirit of deep and true catholicity, should have been pronounced at this time. It will do more than anything to calm the minds of those who have been much troubled by many past events.

Believe me, my dear Lord Bishop,—Yours very truly and respectfully,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

To this second act of submission the Bishop replied on the 6th of April:

"I could not doubt that you would at once drop any practices in the celebration of Divine Service which were formally decided by a competent tribunal to be contrary to the law of the Church, and I gladly receive your assurance in respect of the

points which you specify. Most earnestly do I trust that your hearty zeal for the spiritual welfare of the people committed to your pastoral charge may be directed aright; and that, both in point of doctrine and of ceremonial, being kept safe from dangerous extremes, you and the clergy who work with you in so self-denying a spirit may find your usefulness daily increased by being more and more enabled to give yourself to spread among your flock the simple gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Two days after this pleasant and pious letter was written, the persecution entered on a new phase. The Judgment of the Court of Arches was highly distasteful to the prosecutors, who had hoped for a more radical extirpation of ritualistic practices; and on the 8th of April Mr. Martin addressed the following letter to Bishop Tait:

My Lord Bishop,—The circumstance that I received your Lordship's permission to promote your office against the Incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn, would by itself entitle your Lordship to early information of my purpose to appeal from some parts of the decision lately given by the Judge of the Arches Court, and of my principal reasons for taking this step. But, even more, as an attached member of the Church of England, as loyally solicitous for its intestine peace as for its purity, I seem bound to satisfy your Lordship that—grave as were the exigencies which constrained me to initiate these proceedings—the Judgment lately delivered points, with even greater urgency, to what is the path of duty now.

It was open to some besides myself to seek to have the novel practices, symbolical of dangerous doctrines, with which the clergy of St. Alban's had so long troubled us, declared illegal by a competent tribunal. Mr. Mackonochie having announced his willingness to accept Sir Robert Phillimore's ruling, I am thereby constituted the sole *dominus litis*. Inaction on my part, therefore, at this juncture would practically impose upon the Church, with the binding obligation of law, several conclusions which, as I am persuaded (and I venture thus to write, with great deference to the very learned judge who has stated them), are by the great majority of Churchmen not believed to be the law, and, until confirmed by the tribunal of last resort, will not be acquiesced in as the law, which governs our Reformed Church. My Lord, it has now for the first time since the Reformation been judicially held that "it is lawful to place two lighted candles on the Holy Table during the time of the Holy Communion, for the signification that Christ is the very true Light of the World." The learned Dean of Arches bases this his ruling on a Constitution of Archbishop Reynolds (A.D. 1322), "Tempore quo Missarum solennia peraguntur accendantur duæ candelæ, vel ad minus una"; and on an Injunction of Edward VI, permitting "two lights upon the High Altar, before the Sacrament."

But in "Westerton *v.* Liddell," in a portion of his judgment in no way touched (as it seems to me) by the appeals in that case, Dr. Lushington said, "I hold the Ordinance of Archbishop Reynolds and the Injunction of Edward VI to be utterly incompatible with the doctrines and ritual of the

Church of England." That distinguished judge showed that the Ordinance of Archbishop Reynolds "referred to the celebration of the Mass." But, he argued, "the Mass is gone, root and branch. The accessory is extinguished with the principal. Were this otherwise, what would be the result? Protestant worship would be mixed up with Popish rites." "The lighting of those candles," he asserts, "was intimately connected with a rite of the Roman Catholic Church." And as to the Injunction of Edward VI, he asks: "Where is the High Altar now? Abolished, and a Communion Table established in its stead. How can lights upon the High Altar apply to the present Communion Table?" And he interpreted the expression in the Injunction, "before the Sacrament," to mean the Mass, and not the administration of the Holy Communion.

Here is high authority that, if Sir R. Phillimore's late decision should pass unchallenged, the result would be that "Protestant worship would be mixed up with Popish rites." And, my Lord, we know too well from recent publications by eminent advocates of extreme Sacramental views, that in practice this is so now. In the teaching of that school, the use of two lighted candles on the Table during the administration of the Lord's Supper, is avowedly prized as an important symbol of the asserted Objective Presence of the Son of God, both in His Godhead and Manhood, localized in the consecrated elements.

Even were this not so, the Church and the nation of England surely have a right to know, at the earliest possible date, to which of these two Judg-

ments, so directly in conflict, they are to look as law.

But, farther, the judicial permission now given to any clergyman to kneel during the Prayer of Consecration, although the rubric (as it has always been read) directs that he shall stand, and the painful extra-judicial hint as to the possible legality of mixing water with the wine provided for the Lord's Supper, if only it be done before the service commences, concede (as I venture to believe and hope, erroneously) points of far too vital importance to be acquiesced in.

For these and other weighty reasons, with which I need not trouble your Lordship, I can entertain no doubt that I owe it to the Church, and to the interests of religious truth, to prosecute an appeal from the late decision, to the fullest extent that my learned counsel shall advise.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord Bishop, with every true respect,—Your Lordship's faithful and humble servant, JOHN MARTIN.

At this point of the narrative, it is important to recall the political situation as it stood in the summer and autumn of 1868.

At Christmas 1867, the veteran Lord Russell had announced his resignation of the Liberal leadership, which now passed to the hands of Mr. Gladstone. In February 1868, Disraeli had become for the first time Prime Minister (succeeding Lord Derby); and in March 1868, Gladstone had announced his determination to compass the disestablishment of the Irish Church. This announcement, and the Resolutions in favour of Disestablishment which

Gladstone carried in the House of Commons, produced great agitation in the Protestant world. Disraeli announced that he would hold on till the autumn, and then appeal to the new constituency created by the Reform Act of 1867. On the 20th of August, Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his diary: "The Government is a compound of timidity and recklessness. Dizzy is seeking everywhere for support. He is all things to all men, and nothing to anyone. He cannot make up his mind to be Evangelical, Neologian, or Ritualistic; he is waiting for the highest bidder." Apparently, it did not take him long to decide that "the highest bidder" was the Protestant voter, for on the 28th of September he wrote thus to Bishop Wilberforce:

"I hold that the long pent-up feeling of this nation against ultra-Ritualism will pronounce itself at the impending election. The feeling has been long accumulating; its expression might have been retarded; circumstances have brought an unexpected opportunity. . . . It will be a Protestant Parliament, though it may not be a Church Parliament. But there can be no doubt that every wise man on our side should attract the Protestant feeling, as much as practicable, to the Church of England."

When these sentiments were present to the mind of the Semitic Prime Minister, whose attitude towards religious questions as a rule resembled that of Gallio, it was only natural that they should prevail with double vigour in Lord Cairns, an ex-representative of the Orange town of Belfast, whom in the previous March Disraeli had made Chancellor. With Cairns, the "Protestantism of the Protestant Religion" was the most sacred of be-

liefs; his powers of intellect made him a formidable combatant; and his imperious will rode roughshod over all obstacles. Parliament was dissolved on the 11th of November. "The Tory Government had thought it wise to raise an ultra-Protestant cry. It soon became apparent that this watchword would fail, and that the administration was doomed to fall. In this case, Lord Cairns, realizing that his time as Chancellor was short, got the St. Alban's case advanced, out of its turn, from the bottom of a long list to the head of it; and although, in the ordinary course, it would not have been taken till late in 1869, it was forced to a hearing on the 17th of November 1868."

The appeal was limited to the permission of kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration, the use of the Altar-lights, and the disallowance of costs. The Court which sat to hear it consisted of Lord Cairns, then Chancellor, Lords Chelmsford and Westbury, Sir William Erle, Sir James Colvile, and Archbishop Thomson of York. Disraeli, having been beaten at the General Election, resigned on the 2nd of December, and Cairns of course ceased to be Chancellor, though he remained a member of the Judicial Committee. On the 23rd of December he pronounced the decision of the Committee, which was adverse to Mackonochie on all three points, and also allowed the costs of the appeal to the prosecutors. "This partisan finding was discredited alike by the dissent of the two ablest lawyers composing the Court, Lord Westbury and Sir William Erle; by the neutral position taken by Sir James Colvile; and by the adhesion of the Archbishop of York, by whose vote it was thus carried."

Technically, the decision of the Judicial Committee was only a Report, to be submitted to Her Majesty; who, on the 14th of January 1869, approved of the Report, and by Order in Council directed that it should be "duly observed, complied with, and carried into execution." On the 19th of January, a Monition was issued from "Her Majesty's Court of Appeal" to Mackonochie, ending with the following words:

"We do therefore hereby command you, the said Reverend Alexander Heriot Mackonochie, to abstain for the future from the elevation of the Cup and Paten during the administration of the Holy Communion, and from the use of Incense, and from the mixing water with the wine during the administration of the said Holy Communion, and from kneeling or prostrating yourself before the consecrated elements during the Prayer of Consecration, and also from using in the said Church lighted candles on the Communion Table during the celebration of the Holy Communion, at times when such lighted candles are not wanted for the purpose of giving light.—And hereof fail not."

Mackonochie took the Monition, as he took everything else, with unruffled composure. He announced to a gathering of his friends and supporters at Freemasons' Tavern that, though he demurred on spiritual and constitutional grounds to the authority of the Judicial Committee, still, having appeared before it, he intended to fulfil its requirements. But he went on to say, first in his speech, and afterwards in a letter to the press, that in his judgment the true remedy for the Church's troubles was Disestablishment. Here is a quotation from the letter:

"I suppose everyone has more or less been thinking over the question of Establishments. If I may judge from the reception which was given to a few words of mine at the meeting in Freemasons' Tavern, the conviction is gaining ground that the time has come for the Church to claim deliverance from the yoke of State-control. I do not believe it to be a question belonging to any political school, for I constantly find myself at one on this point with men of views differing as widely as possible from one another and myself on political questions. Even if we look at the matter from a State point of view, the principle for which I contend lies deeper than any differences of modern politics; for, thus regarded, an equitable union of Church and State is only possible where the two terms are coextensive. In any other case one of two difficulties will arise—either the influence of the Church in the affairs of State will be a burden to those subjects of the State who do not belong to her pale; or else (which is the more probable alternative) the yoke of the State will press heavily upon the conscience of the Church. The English Establishment dates from a time when the two were coextensive; and a continuance of this condition was assumed at the Reformation, but has not been realized, nor will anyone dare to predict that it is likely to be realized; so that, even from this point of view, the union of Church and State is an anachronism, and ought to be swept away. But it is in the interest of religion solely, not in that of politics, that the question has to be viewed by us. What right has the Spouse of Christ to ally herself with the powers of the world? . . . The reign

of Constantine was the beginning of the decline of Christianity in spiritual things, quite as much as it was the beginning of its rise in temporal grandeur. Let us then, as citizens as well as churchmen, move every power to obtain a dissolution of this ungodly alliance. . . . Once free from State-control, we shall begin, I trust, to feel as a body, and not merely as individuals, that we belong to a kingdom which is 'not of this world.' Our Bishops will know that their power is that of the servants of Christ, not of Lords of Parliament. We of the clergy shall be free from the temptations to worldly gain and ambition, with which an Establishment surrounds us; and our people will receive or reject us for Christ's sake, not as Ministers appointed by the State. Let us see all our brethren taking courage out of defeat, and rallying themselves in their proper posts for the glorious contest which is before them—Freedom for the Church of their Fathers." And again: "I for one say, let the State send forth the Church roofless, and penniless, but free, and I will say 'Thank you.'"

Gladstone was now Prime Minister, with a majority of a hundred pledged to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church. The spring and summer of 1869 were engrossed, so far as politicians were concerned, by the progress of the Irish Bill, which became law on the 26th of July. But among the general public there seems to have been an interest quite as eager in the fortunes of Ritualism generally, and of St. Alban's in particular. Henry Kingsley wrote in *Stretton*, which was published in this year: "Lord Shaftesbury at Field

Lane, and Mr. Mackonochie at St. Alban's, Holborn, are working and civilizing most nobly. God speed them both!" The newspapers of the time, daily and weekly, morning and evening, metropolitan and provincial, plain and illustrated, teemed with discussions of rites and ceremonies; with impassioned attacks on "Popery in Disguise"; and with amazing mare's-nests discovered by Protestant investigators.

I cull a few headings, taken quite at random: "The Halfway House"; "Creeping Priests"; "Bleeding Lies"; "Ritualism in London"; "High Church Shrines"; "Christmas Mummeries"; "High Jinks at St. Alban's"; "Pernicious Nonsense in the English Church"; "Ritualistic Spoons"; "Fire and Faggots"; "Mr. Mackonochie, his Fooleries and his Flock"; "Signs of the Times"; "The Tactics of Ritualism"; "The Ritualistic Dilemma"; "The Many Manœuvres of Mr. Mackonochie"; "Mr. Mackonochie on Shuffling"; and "Pigheaded Ritualism." Here we may discern an allusion to a "Pig's-Head-and-Pat-of-Butter-Function,"[1] which inspired the following ditty:

"Unutterable follies seem habitual
With those who pride themselves on rigid Ritual;
And Piety is shocked, and Satire falters
At the sad sight of desecrated altars;
While eagerly the officiating priest
Receives fresh gifts to glorify the feast,
And Hodge the labourer, born to plough and dig,
Presents the huge head of his favourite Pig!"

Of the flock of visitors who now constantly invaded St. Alban's, some no doubt were actuated

[1] A Harvest Festival at Haydock.

by a laudable desire to judge for themselves; many by the love of novelty and the lust of sight-seeing; and some by the less creditable motive of espial. Subsequent disclosures revealed the fact that hired spies were sent by what Bishop Magee nicknamed "The Persecution Company, Limited," to watch the gestures and actions of Mr. Mackonochie when celebrating the Divine Mysteries, in the hope of detecting some offences on which further proceedings could be founded.

And here a certain peculiarity of Mackonochie's mind laid him open to attack. He was profoundly Scotch in his love of logical coherence; and to him there was no such thing as a distinction without a difference. If he might not elevate the Paten above his head, he would elevate it to his chin. If he might not mix the Chalice at the Altar, he would mix it before the service began. If he might not prostrate himself, he would bow; if he might not bow, he would genuflect. If he might not have two candles on the Altar, he would have seven lamps above it.[1] Now each of these "distinctions" was in very truth a "difference," but it was precisely that sort of difference which the ordinary Englishman does not recognize. Typically English was Dr. Johnson's scorn of the "poring man," who, to the remark "There's no fruit in this orchard," should reply, "Sir, you are mistaken; I have found two apples and three pears."—"I should laugh at him; what would that be to purpose?" Probably "Mr. Pond," who was sent by the Church Association to spy out the Holy

[1] The Seven Lamps which hang in the Sanctuary of St. Alban's were presented at Septuagesima 1869.

EAST END OF CHURCH, 1863

Mysteries at St. Alban's, was of the same mind as Dr. Johnson.

At this point an extract from the Bill of Costs presented by the Proctors for the Church Association to Mackonochie may be profitably pondered.

*July* 1869.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attending Mr. Pond, instructing him to attend St. Alban's on Sunday, July 11th . . . | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Taking his statement and fair copy . . . | 0 | 18 | 4 |
| Paid him for his attendance . . . . . | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Attending Mr. Pond, instructing him to attend the early Communion on July 12th (*i.e.* the next day, Monday), and four following days . . | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Taking his statement and fair copy . . . | 0 | 18 | 4 |
| Paid him for his attendance . . . . . | 5 | 5 | 0 |

(Two guineas for Sunday, one each week-day.)

Three persons were employed.

Similar entries occur all through, exceeding in the whole One Hundred Pounds.

While these amiable inspections were in progress, Mackonochie was making ready for a great experiment. For some years past small "Parochial Missions" had been conducted up and down the country by such preachers as Robert Aitken of Pendean, Richard Twigg of Wednesbury, Charles Bodington of Willenhall, and George Wilkinson of Seaham; and, on rather different lines, by Bishop Wilberforce, acting with bands of selected clergy. But in October 1869 a "Twelve Days' Mission" for all London, or at least such parishes as would accept it, was announced under the sanction of the three bishops in whose dioceses London was included

—Bishop Jackson of London, Bishop Claughton of Rochester, and Bishop Wilberforce, who had just been nominated to the see of Winchester. The enterprise aroused widespread curiosity, enthusiastic hopes, and keen hostility. Old-fashioned High Churchmen regarded it askance, as new-fangled; Low Churchmen dreaded the almost certain introduction of Confession; Broad Churchmen, to whom the very ideas of Sin and Repentance are obnoxious, were extremely angry with their brethren who took part in the Mission and the diocesans who sanctioned it: but the Ritualists threw themselves into it with passionate zeal. The Mission began on Saturday, November 13. St. Alban's of course led the way, with Father S. W. O'Neill, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, as chief Missioner.

"The Penitential Psalms were chanted slowly to the most unmitigated Gregorians, and the prayers monotoned very low down in the gamut. One cannot help wondering whether a little cheerful music written in round notes on five lines would not suit these simple folk as well as the dreadful square-headed notes on four lines. Why must we go back to imperfect musical notation when we want to sing about religion? The hymns, however, were more lively, and 'There is a fountain,' followed by its refrain of 'I do believe, I will believe,' put one in mind of the meeting-house. In fact, the whole affair is a wonderful congeries of the Roman and Ranter elements, grafted on the stock of the Church of England as by law established."

But, as the days went on, the preacher's zeal and fervour began to affect his hearers, and through them to draw larger congregations. *Qui non ardet, non*

*accendit.* But Father O'Neill burned with the fire of evangelistic passion, and hearts all round him were kindled by the flame. Before the end of the Twelve Days the success of the Mission, as far as St. Alban's was concerned, was assured. It concluded with the ceremony, then unheard-of, of a Renewal of Baptismal Vows. "I sallied forth," wrote an observer, "prepared to renew mine; though I had never formally renounced them, and fancied that they were renewed once for all at Confirmation. I must look up my theology."

"At eight o'clock," wrote another, "St. Alban's Church was crowded, the whole of the centre part of the church being railed off for the penitents, one side for the men and one for the women. . . . The scene was very striking; the body of the building was a perfect blaze of light, while the chancel was very nearly dark. Father O'Neill, addressing the penitents, said: 'This is indeed a happy time; you are in the presence of God, and stand like the wise virgins with their lamps trimmed.' He then said very slowly and solemnly: 'Do you here, in the presence of God and of this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in your name at your Baptism?' To this there was a loud and startling response of 'I do,' and so ended the London Mission of 1869."

So ended the "Mission," but it was followed by a Confirmation in St. Alban's, which, at Mackonochie's request, Bishop Jackson held on the 23rd of December. Furthermore, the practice of hearing Confessions openly in the church dates from this time.

It has been said that the worst attempt at an

antithesis in the English language occurs in Sir Spencer Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell.* "While Lord John was resting from his labours, a different man was otherwise occupied." If a similar man had been otherwise occupied, or if a different man had been similarly occupied, it might have been worth noting. And yet I feel inclined to write in this vein of false antithesis, when I think of Alexander Heriot Mackonochie preparing for the Mission, and Edward John Pond scrutinizing the ritual of the Altar—a different man indeed, and how differently occupied!

On the 2nd of December 1869, the Church Association, through their old friend Mr. Martin, delated Mackonochie to the Privy Council for disobedience to the Monition issued in the previous January, relying on the sworn evidence of Edward John Pond, Henry Dangar, Francis Beames, and William Preston Willins, who all testified to Mackonochie's disobedience in continuing to elevate the Chalice and Paten, in using lighted candles when not required for light, and in kneeling and prostration during the Prayer of Consecration. On the 4th of December the Judicial Committee decided that he had cleared himself on the two counts of Elevation and Lights, but that he had disobeyed it in genuflecting. Kneeling and genuflecting were, in the eyes of the judge, two names for one thing, and Mackonochie was condemned in costs. Ten days after the delivery of this Judgment, the spies again visited St. Alban's; and on their report, the Church Association, again through Mr. Martin, delated Mackonochie for renewed disobedience to the Monition, alleging that he sanctioned on the part of others what he

was forbidden to do himself, and that the Clergy at St. Alban's had on specified dates elevated the Blessed Sacrament above the head, and knelt or prostrated themselves before It; and in a further affidavit Mackonochie himself was charged with the same offences.

The case went dawdling on through the summer of 1870. There was a remarkable conflict of evidence, the Clergy and the spies being orally examined. On the 25th of November Judgment was pronounced, by the mouth of Lord Chelmsford, to the effect that Mackonochie had not complied with the Monition in respect of Elevation; that the low bow which he had substituted for genuflexion was equally forbidden; and that therefore he must pay all the costs of the application, and be suspended from his office and benefice for three months. The finding of the Judicial Committee was of course reported in the papers; but the formal notice of Suspension was not served on Mackonochie, and posted on the door of the church, until just before the beginning of High Mass on Advent Sunday, November 27.

Mackonochie at once submitted. He took his seat in his stall, and the service proceeded, though with no incense and no lighted candles. The sermon was preached by Mr. Stanton, who took for his text the Monition of the Privy Council, and, as an admiring hearer wrote at the time, "simply raved." He spoke with passionate indignation of the gross injustice which had marked the whole proceedings; of the ambiguities and uncertainties which pervaded each successive decision of the Courts; of the bitter hatred which the world feels for Sacramental truth; of the unequal measure

dealt out to Socinianism and to Ritualism. And then he burst into a strain of noble eloquence. "It is the crowning honour of a Priest of Jesus Christ to suffer for his Master's sake. You will not hear the voice of your beloved Priest for three months, but, as he sits in his stall, his silence will speak more powerfully than the rarest eloquence. Remember the words of the Psalmist: 'I became dumb, and opened not my mouth, for it was Thy doing, O Lord of Hosts.' Dear St. Alban's people, you are dearer to us than ever, for we are not only one in faith, but one in suffering also. And you men especially, you who love what is noble and true and just, let this sink into your hearts, and say: 'What must the tree be which bears fruit like this?' . . . Let us not forget that it is our duty to regard those who have done us this great injury with feelings of kindness and love. We must look forward to the time when the mists shall have vanished, and all things have become clear."

One curious result of the Suspension was that it brought Mackonochie the only recognition in the way of worldly honour which he ever received. William, Lord Eliot (1829–1881), afterwards 4th Earl of St. Germans, was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's lifetime—Sept. 14, 1870. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Mackonochie, and shared his views on Disestablishment; and, being now a Peer, he wrote as follows to the suspended Vicar:

DEAR MR. MACKONOCHIE,—I am going to make a request that you will, I hope, at least not think an impertinent one.

As a Peer, I have a right to name a Domestic Chaplain; it of course entails no duties, and I fear conveys no privileges; and, if I venture to offer you such a title, it is only with a sincere desire to give a proof of my gratitude for the comfort, and, I hope, profit, which I have derived from the Service which the Privy Council is attempting to put down. That the attempt will be successful I do not fear; but, feeling that it is the duty of everyone to do what he can to protest against this monstrous iniquity, I venture to make this offer, well knowing that all the honour will be on my side if you kindly consent.—I have the honour to be, Yours very faithfully, ELIOT.[1]

The offer was accepted, and eleven years later, Mackonochie wrote in his Annual Address: "The late Earl of St. Germans . . . put himself forward to identify himself with us in the most marked way he could, at a time of great difficulty; and to the end of his life on earth, never ceased to take the most prominent position in our yearly Festivals, always in everything interesting himself in our welfare."

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On the 6th of December 1870, Mackonochie addressed to the *Record* a letter setting forth with great clearness the successive steps of the litigation; and he subsequently published it, with some amendments, as a pamphlet. The following extracts are worth considering:

"At the risk of being tedious, I will, for the sake of distinctness, put down once more each article as

[1] He laid the Foundation-Stone of the Schools in Baldwin's Gardens on St. Alban's Day 1873.

pleaded, in parallel columns with the Judgment and my action upon it.

| Article. | Judgment of Arches Court. | Action Thereon. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. 'Elevation of the Paten and Cup *above the head* during the Prayer of Consecration,' *i.e.* the use followed in 1866 but discontinued in January 1867 before the suit began. | Do not recur to it. | I have not recurred. |
| 2. 'Kneeling or Prostration before the Consecrated Elements during the Prayer of Consecration.' | Not illegal. | Continued till the Privy Council reversed the Judgment; then given up. |
| 3. 'Lighted candles on the Communion Table during the celebration of Holy Communion.' | Legal. | Continued till the Privy Council reversed the Judgment; then given up. |
| 4. 'Use of incense for censing persons and things,' *i.e.* the use which was given up before the case began. | Do not recur to it. | I have not recurred to it. |
| 5. 'Use of incense, alleged to be unlawful, but not for censing persons and things.' | Some use of incense lawful but not this. Abstain for the future. | I have abstained from it. |
| 6. Mixing water with the wine used in the administration of the Holy Communion. | Abstain for the future. | I have abstained according to the Judgment. |

. . . . . .

"What, then, about the Court? Was it an Ecclesiastical Court in such a sense that its Judgments were of force in the name of the Church? In form, no doubt, it was so. The Judge was appointed by the Archbishop and sat as his representative, delivering judgment in his name as Primate of all England, invested with powers which belonged to him (I believe) originally as Legate *a latere* from the Pope. So far all seemed in order; but then, by a more recent arrangement, this Court has entirely lost its ecclesiastical character by being reduced to the position of a mere function of a civil tribunal—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If, therefore, a civil Court interfered with Church law, this could be no ground for leaving the Church of England, but rather ground for clinging to her in order to protect her from such attacks from without. The only question, then, was whether or no it were possible to comply with the demands of the Court without thereby being untrue to the Church's Catholicity. As far as my own conscience was concerned, it could not be necessary to recur to what I had already (though under protest) given up; but could I give up more? Two things, lights and kneeling, were declared legal; while the ceremonial mixing of water with the wine was the most important of the things forbidden. This was, no doubt, a very great matter to yield, even under protest; still, upon the whole, it seemed possible to comply, and by pleading before the Court I had almost, if not quite, pledged myself to obey. Therefore, at once, without waiting for any Monition, I yielded and obeyed. Then came the Appeal against the small remainder which was left to us. Should I

plead again? Should I own any authority in the Privy Council? It was a difficulty. I did not believe it to have any. But still, if the State could be hindered by my pleading by counsel from doing a great wrong to the Church, it seemed as if I ought to plead. Then came the 'Cairns' Judgment. Should I yield to this? The difficulty in this case was no doubt very much greater. The Court had not a shadow of ecclesiastical authority. Still there came again the complication of having pleaded. So I gave way. I was forbidden to 'use lighted candles on the Communion Table during the celebration of Holy Communion.' I disused them. We had been accustomed to use them during Morning Service for some time, so that use, not being impugned, was continued. I was directed not to kneel, so I did not kneel. The Church knows two acts, quite distinct—kneeling and genuflecting; being forbidden to kneel, I genuflected. As a matter of course I believed my Lord to be there, and must show Him some reverence. The very principles of my duty to God obliged me to save as much for His Honour as I could, and thus forbade me to obey to a hair's-breadth beyond the mere letter of that which seemed to me to assail His Honour.

"Then came the motion of last year, and the Judgment thereon, and with it a new definition, making genuflection—indeed, all bending of the knee—to be the same as kneeling. I found refuge in the Rubric of the Ancient English Liturgy, and substituted an 'inclination' of the body, without bending of the knee, for genuflection. Now I am told that inclining the body over the Altar is pros-

tration; am fined in the costs, and suspended for not having found it out myself: and am told that I am guilty of 'evasion,' &c., for the same want of foresight, while you own yourself that I could not have foreseen it. Much has been said about the littleness of fighting over such details. But who fights over them? I find myself in the Presence of my Lord and am conscientiously bound to do Him reverence; nor am I forbidden by my own branch of the Church Catholic from doing that which all the rest of the Church has done, in one form or another, from the beginning. I adopt, therefore, a different act of reverence from that which has been forbidden—one which is ecclesiastically quite distinct. Who fights over this distinction and seeks to force me from it? Clearly the Promoter. Again, I get a definition from the Court, 'all bending of the knees is kneeling.' Truly it is a most unforeseen definition; but I obey, and now at least I am safe—my act of reverence must be without bending the knee. I do not bend the knee. Who follows me to prove that I may be held to kneel—nay, more, to prostrate myself—without bending the knee at all, and with an altar of considerable height immediately in front of me? Surely it is not I who raise such an apparently impossible proposition, but the Promoter. . . .

"I accept this Suspension as purely and simply a legal compulsion. I must accept it, or do that which I believe would displease God more; but it is only the world's Suspension. In the presence of God, and in the forum of my own conscience, I am as free as if no Suspension whatever had been issued. Having elected to obey it, I will

do so in all ways in which I can obey it without disobeying God; but I do not for a moment accept it as depriving me of privileges, or releasing me from duties, which God has enjoined upon me as a Priest, and from which He only can release me."[1]

After this plain statement of the facts, the voices of controversy took a rather more decent tone, and the newspapers overflowed with letters admitting that Mackonochie was an honest man, but urging him to seek a refuge from his perplexities in some other communion than his own. Lord Shaftesbury, himself one of the most honest, and also the most impracticable, of mankind, wrote thus in his diary: "'To me,' says Mackonochie in his letter to the *Record*, 'the Church of England is, in God's providence, the only channel ordained of Him, through which His grace can reach my soul.' That is his plea for not leaving it: the decisions of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council are his plea for not obeying it. It is lamentable to see a high, self-denying, and self-sacrificing spirit in such a quandary of conflicting duties. But he could leave the Establishment without leaving the Church of England. Unless civil laws and temporalities are essential to his notion of a Church, the channel of grace would be as open to him after, as before, his severance from the external fabric."

[1] Mackonochie preached, for the first time after his suspension, on Sunday evening, February 26, 1871. His text was St. John i. 4.

# CHAPTER V

## MEN AND METHODS

"Remember your guides, who spake to you the Word of God; and, reviewing the close of their life, imitate their faith."—*Epistle to the Hebrews*.

THE period now to be considered was marked by a temporary cessation of the hostilities which beat on St. Alban's for fifteen years. The moment is therefore opportune for an enquiry into the methods of religion pursued in that much-vexed church, and for some attempt to describe the men who ministered there. It may be convenient to take the men in the first place, and the methods by which they worked in the second; and among the men there towers pre-eminent the figure of Alexander Heriot Mackonochie.

As has been already stated, and as his names imply, Mackonochie was of Scottish extraction. His father had been a Colonel in the service of the East India Company, and on his return from India settled at Farnham in Hampshire. There Alexander Mackonochie was born; and, after some tuition at private schools and then at the University of Edinburgh, he went up to Wadham College, Oxford, in January 1845. The crisis of the Oxford Movement was then at hand, for Newman seceded in the following October; but the agita-

tions and perplexities of that distracting time seem to have had very little effect on Mackonochie.

He lived in college a quiet, laborious, and self-denying life; and in matters of religion was a good deal influenced by Charles Marriott, Fellow of Oriel, whom Bishop Edward King described as "the most Gospel-like man I ever knew." In youth, as in later life, Mackonochie was apt to keep his deepest feelings locked in his own bosom; but there is plenty of contemporary evidence to show that his temperament was profoundly devout, and that his conduct corresponded to it. In June 1848 he was placed in the Second Class of the great school of *Literæ Humaniores;* and, after nine months of earnest preparation, he was ordained Deacon by Bishop Denison of Salisbury in Lent 1849. He was licensed to the curacy of Westbury in Wiltshire, and three years later he removed to Wantage, then beginning to be a centre of religious activity, under the energetic rule of W. J. Butler, afterwards Dean of Lincoln. From Wantage, as was stated in an earlier chapter, he moved in 1858 to a Mission Church in the Parish of St. George's in the East; and thence in 1862 to the still unformed Parish of St. Alban's.

So much for the history: now for the personality. In many aspects of his character and constitution, Mackonochie was the ideal Priest. In early youth his health had been delicate, but strength had come with years, and long self-discipline had rendered him almost insensible to fatigue, and impervious to common ailments. A doctor who attended him after an accident gave this signal testimony to his powers of endurance. "Walking from St. Alban's

to Hackney on a very slippery night, he lost his footing and grasped a lamp-post, the sudden muscular effort causing a dislocation of the left arm. He walked a long distance, and, on his arrival at the Clergy House of St. Alban's, sent for me. I found him perfectly calm, and, on my arrival, so unruffled was he that I thought I was only going to see a simple sprain. A very slight examination showed me the condition of matters, and, as the dislocation had occurred some hours before, I knew there would be some difficulty and much pain in reducing it. Under the circumstances, I advised him to have an anæsthetic to save pain, but he replied, 'I think I can bear any pain you give me, or at least I will try'; and, with the assistance of one of the Sisters, the head of the bone slipped into its position. During the whole time that I was manipulating him, he never moved an inch, and he never uttered a word of complaint."

But, if Mackonochie's body was hard, not less so was his head—clear, cold, and strong. His habit of mind was characteristically Scotch, in its dry logic and theoretical consistency. No one would have described him as a very clever man; but his astonishing power of "grind" enabled him to attain, at the University and subsequently, a degree of intellectual success out of proportion to his purely mental gifts. Nothing was more characteristic of the man than the dogged resolution with which he would address himself to the study of some quite uncongenial branch of knowledge—such as an unfamiliar school of painting, or a fresh discovery in science. At these he would "toil terribly." The present writer has seen him peruse, with apparent

enjoyment, an alarming periodical called *Mind;* for metaphysic comes natural to a Scotsman. Holding that a religious teacher should keep abreast of all new knowledge, he would dutifully endeavour to familiarize himself with ideas and phenomena which, in themselves, had only the faintest interest for him. This intense habit of conscientious study was only a form of his invincible will. A more resolute man never lived. When once he had deliberately adopted a course, he pursued it with grim tenacity, and his power of resistance to pressure was at least as strong as his constructive volition. Nothing could turn him back, or modify his judgment, or stay his hand. Prosecutions, persecutions, admonitions, abuse, ridicule, calumny—all ran off this robust constitution like water off a duck's back. And yet, except in matters where his ecclesiastical conscience and judgment were involved, he was the humblest and most teachable of men. He was modestly aware of his intellectual defects, always ready to be informed, and full of touching confidence in the superior wisdom of much younger men. By them in turn he was greatly loved, though he was about the last man in the world with whom they would have ventured to take a liberty. His absolute honesty, sincerity, directness, and fearlessness commanded their respect. His contempt for wealth, ease, enjoyment, and honours fascinated their imagination. He had acquired, in the most sacred of all confidences, a deep insight into the inner springs of character and conduct, which was as helpful as it sometimes was startling. His intense and most practical sympathy with poverty, sickness, pain, and trouble, whether material or

mental, endeared him to thousands who would have been repelled by his stern fidelity to the letter of an unpopular creed, by his prosaic and unimaginative temperament, and by the dignified austerity of his personal demeanour.

Something has been said in a preceding chapter about Mackonochie's powers as a preacher; but an attempt to describe him would be glaringly incomplete, if it left out of sight his exceptional skill as a Confessor. "Apart," says one of his colleagues, "from the special grace of Holy Orders, he owed this largely to his lifelong habit of careful self-observation, and to his knowledge of Holy Scripture. The usual text-books of Moral Theology reposed upon his shelves, but the dust upon them was seldom disturbed. As a Confessor he was exceedingly popular. All kinds of persons, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, found their way to him, literally in hundreds. Doubtless the intense reality of the man attracted them, his unclouded faith, so calm, masculine, and strong; his quick sympathy, and really heroic patience. Whilst they knelt by his side, they seemed to catch the contagion of his courage. Heart and hope revived, and the horizon brightened. And then they knew that for the time he was wholly and without distraction at their service. If occasion called for it, he would give hours to a single soul, and betray no signs of impatience or weariness."

In the first years of the work at St. Alban's it was inevitable that the attention alike of friends and foes, admirers and critics and mere observers, should be concentrated on the dominating figure of

Mackonochie. But at the period which we are now considering—1871 to 1874—another personality had sprung into prominence; and, so far as the unwelcome attentions of the ecclesiastical reporters were concerned, "Father Stanton" was at least as great a favourite as his chief. The requirements of history demand that I should write of this remarkable man, without reference to the fact that he may read what is written.

Arthur Henry Stanton was born in 1839, the youngest son of Charles Stanton, a manufacturer at Stroud. He was educated at Rugby, under the headmastership of Dr. Goulburn, and at Trinity College, Oxford. He took his degree in 1862, and, after six months at Cuddesdon under the beloved Edward King, he was ordained Deacon by Bishop Tait at Advent 1862. The most edifying page in the Clergy List is that which records the fact that he has spent the fifty years of his ministry in the curacy to which he was ordained.

It may have been observed that when, in 1866, Bishop Wilberforce attended High Mass at St. Alban's, and heard Mr. Stanton preach, he described the sermon as "thoroughly Evangelical"; and the epithet may be applied with the strictest accuracy to every department of Stanton's ministry. For half a century he has laboured by word and act, in season and out of season, through evil report and good report, to set forth Christ crucified before the gaze of perishing sinners. It has been said that "The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants." Those who through all these years have worshipped and listened and confessed their sins at St. Alban's, Holborn, will be disposed to

reply that Jesus and Jesus only is the Religion of Catholics.

But not only is Mr. Stanton's ministry Evangelical: it is in some respects characteristically Protestant. The open Bible and the English Sunday are among the national boons which he most highly prizes. The idea of authority, exercised by one human being—even though that being be the Pope—over the soul of another, stinks in his nostrils. Though himself one of the most experienced and most helpful of Confessors, he leaves the practice of Confession, as the Church of England leaves it, absolutely voluntary and free. Instead of labouring by a system of minute directions to shape the spiritual life of his penitents to his own ideals, he bestows all his energy on quickening the individual conscience, nerving the individual will, and building up the habit of self-reliance and self-discipline in the things of the soul.

The following letter was written in reply to a Harrow boy, who wished to begin the practice of Confession, but found that his parents were opposed to his doing so:

*Feb.* 9, 1871.

My dear Sir,—You are certainly quite right in your conclusion; no man ought to stand between any man's soul and God—not even father or mother—and, if you come to Confession, of course I shall receive you. As a Priest, I have no alternative and no other wish.

The difficulty does not lie here.

Next to the obligations of religion are the obligations of home. Both are sacred, and, linked together by the Hand of God, cannot be severed but at the

greatest risk, and therefore ought only to be so on the gravest grounds.

Now you yourself say of your parents that they are "devoted Christian people, and equally devoted Protestants." Both these facts ought to have their weight with you, and influence your decision.

You have announced to them, you say, your intention of Confessing, and have thereby given them the opportunity of expressing their disapproval. This disapproval you are bound to respect. I am sure you will see this.

It is true that you are eighteen years old, and at a great Public School. It is true that your parents, in our opinion, have no right to interfere with the religious instincts of your soul. But they *are* your parents; they believe in the Lord Jesus, and, out of love for Him and zeal for His honour, they are deeply pained at your making, as they think, the very mistake we are grieved to think they are making—*i.e.* putting a man between the soul and God.

Without doubt, unless the case is imperative, you must not put yourself in opposition to their wishes. Is it imperative?

Confession is not, as you know, essentially necessary to salvation, any more than Confirmation; and if, on account of all these considerations, you hold its practice in suspension *for a time*, I feel sure of your "peace with God," Who only, after all, asks for genuine sorrow, and Who knows that your will is in submission to the will of the Church. Of course you are bound to do all you can to remove the difficulties now in your way, and I cannot but think that your yielding up your own wish to that

of your parents for a time would be the surest way to secure their acquiescence in what you know must be very painful to them.

Beg them to reconsider their objection; remind them how hazardous it is, in these days above all, to place restraints on deep religious instincts; be liberal-hearted yourself, and ask for the same measure which you mete to others. *Pray* for the time when, without a shadow of doubt, knowing that you are giving joy to God, you may, as all Catholic Christians ever have, confess your sins. But do not think that you are unforgiven of God because you have paused to respect instincts which He Himself has woven about our hearts.

Of our Master it is written, "He pleased not Himself"; and we often forget that, if we are to have His mind, we must let the element of self-sacrifice come even into our religious duties.

Believe me,

Very truly yours in our Lord,

ARTHUR HY. STANTON.

There is another characteristic of Mr. Stanton's nature which, from first to last, has had a marked influence on his theology and work. He is a Liberal to the backbone. "The Freedom of the Spirit" is his ideal. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," is the divine promise to which he most closely clings. One Easter Day, addressing the school-children in St. Alban's Church, he pointed to a representation of Our Lord with a banner in His hand, and thus explained it: "There you see Him, rising victorious from the grave. And what does He carry? A banner. Yes,

and what banner? *The Banner of Liberty*—the liberty which by His death He bought for every human soul."

It is natural that a mind built on these lines should have scant respect for authority; and Mr. Stanton is never better pleased than when proving, from Scripture and history, that Infallibility resides neither at Rome nor at Lambeth, but in that innermost sanctuary of the conscience, where alone God's voice is heard. In matters social and political, he is always, by the very law of his being, "for the under dog." All his politics are governed by his religion. "I know," he once exclaimed, "no Liberalism, except that which I have sucked in from the breasts of the Gospel."

It is interesting to see that these two characteristics of Mr. Stanton's ministry—its Evangelical fervour, and its impatience of restraint—impressed the more intelligent visitors to St. Alban's in the distant days which we are now considering. Here is an account of New Year's Eve, December 31, 1872:

"The Priests of St. Alban's are wise in their generation, and know that their church, situated in one of the poorest neighbourhoods, cannot, without extreme unwisdom, let slip this golden opportunity of appealing to the sympathies of the people. Consequently, St. Alban's is thrown open for a Midnight Service on the last day of the year. 'No bell is rung,' said the Rev. Father Stanton, the chief promoter of this and many other methods of getting at the poor of Baldwin's Gardens, 'and yet the people come.' Come they did, at all events that night. Working men and women and children came literally in crowds, notwithstanding the pouring rain. Nay,

more; Father Stanton succeeded in what it had been supposed that only Roman Catholics and Dissenters could do—getting them to come in their working clothes. And what did this zealous young priest do with them when he got them there? Did he receive them with a 'correct' and æsthetic service, which certainly would have driven them all out again, and prevented them from coming any more? By no means. There was not a symptom of Ritualism to be seen. The beautiful chancel was not used. The hymns were special ones, culled from Wesleyan manuals. There was no choir. Father Stanton was the sole 'minister,' and he wore no vestments, not even the possibly obnoxious surplice. It was the most simple, unornate, but on that very account the most Catholic and appropriate service that could have been devised for the occasion.

"Precisely at half-past eleven, Father Stanton mounted the pulpit, and requested the congregation to follow him in the first hymn, after he had sung it to them, which he did in a not very musical solo; but the chorus was very effective. It was as follows:

'Shall we meet beyond the river,
Where the surges cease to roll,
Where in all the bright forever
Sorrow ne'er shall press the soul?
Shall we meet? Shall we meet?
Shall we meet? Shall we meet?
Shall we meet beyond the river,
Where the surges cease to roll?'

"After the hymn Mr. Stanton read a single verse from Psalm xxvii.: 'I should utterly have fainted, but that I believe verily to see the goodness

of the Lord in the land of the living'—and delivered a brief address on the duty of recognizing the goodness while in 'the land of the living.' The problem started by the preacher was: How is it, if God be good, that anybody has a chance of going to hell? In solving this problem by the answer of Free Will, I make bold to say that this Ritualistic preacher outpreached any Wesleyan in the great metropolis. Matter, manner, and energy were of the very essence of the conventicle; and the congregation, which was essentially a poor one, literally hung upon his lips, as he contrasted God's goodness with man's misrepresentations of Him. Lest men should only fear God, he turned their attention to the story of the Incarnation—God at Christmastide, cradled at Bethlehem, the very revelation of Love. 'Do not say you must be damned, dear friends,' he concluded; 'do not harbour the black sin of despair. It is a lie. Say, "O God, Thou art my God." If a fellow only hates his sins because he thinks they will pitchfork him into hell, that is not repentance. Love God as perfect goodness; then you will see all with a new light. Then you will be truly penitent, as frosts melt and flowers spring up when the sun shines.'

"A long, silent prayer ensued, as the church chimes rang in the New Year, followed by an extempore prayer by the minister, after which 'Guide us, O Thou great Jehovah' was sung. At the last verse, 'Come, Lord Jesus, take Thy waiting people home,' Mr. Stanton desired us all to 'sing out loud,' and I can answer for it that every man, woman, and child followed his injunction. He then continued his address. 'Go either to church or chapel. I

know many reasons why you may not like church. But, at all events, put yourselves on the side of God. Be on the side of the good, good God.'

"So did the congregation of St. Alban's inaugurate the Year of Grace, 1873."

A month passed, and the same visitor was again at St. Alban's, drawn thither by the same personal attraction.

"Sunday, February 2, 1873, dawned in a snow-storm. I had ascertained that Father Stanton was to preach at High Mass, and so, though omnibuses had struck and cabs retired into private life, I struggled along against a biting east wind and blinding snow, eventually reaching Brooke Street when Mattins were about half over. Mr. Mackonochie was intoning on a wildly wrong note, and the choir sang a hymn on the Purification to a distressing Gregorian tone. When Morning Prayer was over, two persons in surplices advanced and censed the altar, leaving their censers, I believe, in a side chapel, so as to keep up the fragrance. An introit was sung, and then the procession of Acolytes, Celebrant, Epistoler, and Gospeller entered the church, preceded by a large cross borne aloft. The *mise en scène* was magnificent; and the effect of all the congregation kneeling, when the Incarnation was asserted in the Nicene Creed to deep and solemn chords of accompaniment, was solemn in the extreme. The sign of the Cross was devoutly made when 'the life of the world to come' was mentioned, and, at the close of the Creed, Father Stanton mounted the pulpit. He prefaced his discourse with the publication of banns, prayers

for the sick, and prayers for the repose of the soul of one departed. Then he gave out his text from the Epistle of the day—'The Lord, Whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to His Temple.'

"In the Temple, he said, how simple was the scene! An old man takes the child, and a thrill of joy passes through his heart. He had waited for the Consolation of Israel. He speaks a few words, and then a woman stricken in years comes in. She utters her prophecy. She recognizes the Lord of Lords in the Child. The offering is made, the Purification is over, and they leave. Night closes, and the Temple-doors are shut. The Lord *had* suddenly come to His Temple. He for Whom they yearned had appeared. God and Man had met.

"Then came the personal application:

"'Simeon had been promised that he should see the Lord's Christ. He waited patiently, "full of the Holy Ghost," and at last the Lord suddenly came to His Temple. Simeon *did* depart in peace. So too Anna—she had long fasted and prayed. Day and night she had waited for the Consolation. It had not come; but day after day, night after night, she went on—still fasted, still prayed. Then, in eternity, time struck the hour, and Jesus Christ came. She had not waited in vain; and henceforth she could talk of nothing else to those others who were waiting too.

"'And have you not felt this? You groan and pray to see God—to press Him to your heart and feel Him yours. You want to grasp what is behind all your prayers, Communions, Confessions. You want religion to be a personal affection for Christ—something you can never let go.

"'It shall come to you; when or how I cannot tell; but it shall come.

"'Perhaps it may be at the end of your life, when the shadows of this world pass away, and the morning breaks over the Everlasting Hills. You shall see the King in His beauty, Whom you had tried to follow at such a distance off. Then will you say:

"'O God, Thou art my God. Jesus Christ, Thou didst come to earth for me.

"'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes *have seen* Thy Salvation.'

"So the sermon ended, and the Mass proceeded. It was bright with colours, odours, flowers, and music. When the great bell of the church boomed out among the snow-clouds at the moment of Consecration, a Broad Churchman might not be able to realize the fact in its intensity; but to those who knelt, or rather prostrated themselves, there, the Sacramental Act *was* a great fact.

"When, after the service, I interviewed Father Stanton, he said, 'The only two points in which we have made concessions are, that we do not light candles or burn incense during the Celebration. All else is as before.' The great influence at St. Alban's is, he says, in the Confessional, and that influence he attributes to the fact that confessions are made openly in church, not in the vestry with closed doors. As an instance of the geniality which pervades the whole system at St. Alban's, he told me, after describing the numerous guilds, sisterhoods, crêche, orphanage, and the like, that at a Mothers' Meeting a lady once came in and said, 'I suppose, Father Stanton, that you read these women a chapter in the Bible while they are at work?'

"'Not so,' he said. 'I am now reading *Nicholas Nickleby*, and have just finished *Adam Bede*.'

"'Then, at least, you begin with the collect for the week?'

"'As that collect happened to be: "Blessed Lord, Who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning," I did not think it quite appropriate to *Nicholas Nickleby*.'"[1]

St. Alban's has always been pre-eminently a layman's church. The male element in the congregation is remarkable. It is one of the few churches in London where the men's side is as full as the women's. Laymen have been its most devoted servants in all departments of parochial activity; and, at time of stress and struggle, laymen have been its most vigorous champions. Whatever else might befall—the chilliness and even, as Mackonochie called them, the "kicks," of clerical brethren; the persecuting zeal of Bishops, the rebukes and rebuffs of dignitaries less highly placed—the Clergy of St. Alban's have always been able to rely on the inflexible loyalty of the laymen who frequented their ministrations. This fact has been, indeed, the special note or characteristic of St. Alban's, and therefore it is fitting to assign a prominent place in this narrative to a layman who, during the period which we are now considering, played a leading part in the life of the parish.

Theodore Mansel Talbot was born in 1839. He was the only son of Mr. Christopher Talbot, of Margam, a man of great possessions and position in South Wales, who sat as a Liberal for Glamorgan-

[1] See Appendix III., p. 334.

shire from 1830 till 1890, and was Father of the House of Commons. Theodore's mother died when her son was only seven years old. He was brought up at home, and taught by private tutors under the careful superintendence of his father, himself a man of high attainments in mathematics and physical science. At the age of eighteen he went up to Christ Church. He hunted, he debated (taking always a vehemently Liberal line), he cultivated music, he practised Freemasonry, and he read sufficiently hard to obtain a Second Class in the Final Mathematical School. On going down from Oxford, he threw himself with great energy into the Volunteer movement, becoming successively Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel of his county corps. He was an admirable shot, a strict disciplinarian, and a thorough master of drill. He took a farm of his father's, and worked it on commercial principles. But volunteering and farming were scarcely the pursuits best adapted to his impetuous and daring spirit. As heir to his father's immense possessions, he had been brought up to no profession. Without occupation he would have been miserable, and he was repeatedly invited to stand for Parliament; but he seemed to shrink from the unrealities and insincerities of public life. He realized, no one more keenly, that God had duties in store for him; but his discovery of the direction in which those duties lay was, as men judge accidents, accidental. From his early days his temperament had been thoughtful and devout; but, like many another man of similar type, he was drifting rather aimlessly through life, when, during the London Mission of

1869, he chanced to wander into St. Columba's Church, Haggerston, when Mr. Stanton, who was acting as Missioner, was preaching. As soon as the sermon was over, Talbot came to the preacher, told him his circumstances, and said: "Here I am. What can I do?" The answer was immediate. "Come down to St. Alban's, and help us there." Talbot obeyed the summons, and in obeying it found his true vocation, and developed the most characteristic parts of his noble nature.

From this period he practically disappeared from society. When he was in London, his time was spent in the slums of Holborn instead of the drawing-rooms of Belgravia and the clubs of Pall Mall. He lived in Brooke Street, close to St. Alban's Church. He joined the St. Alban's Parochial Guild, of which the object was to bring young working-men and lads together in a real brotherhood. He stood God-father for the street-arabs at their Baptism; he would sit up all night nursing a sick child; he carried the dead to burial; he fed the hungry, reasoned with the sceptical, and taught the ignorant in the Sunday Schools. He walked in procession with his Guild in the Parish Church, and freely spent his money and his time on the adornment of the sanctuary to which he was so deeply attached. It is recorded of him that once, when the child of some poor parents lay dead, and, because their abode was outside the parish, the undertaker had refused to be at the trouble of bringing the little coffin to the church, Talbot, with some friends of the Guild, went and fetched it himself, so that the sorrowing parents might not be deprived of the consolation of that last Eucharist.

After the early Communion, he would often bring back some of the ragged lads whom he found in the street, and give them breakfast, and try to bring them under the influence of one of the Guilds. One day, when he was kneeling in church during Mass, he saw one of these little urchins pounce upon a trap which had been set for the benefit of the proverbial church-mouse, and secrete it in his pocket. As soon as they got out of church, Talbot collared the offender and demanded restitution of the mouse-trap, which the urchin handed over with the tearful protest: "If I'd a-knowed it belonged to you, Guv'nor, I wouldn't a-'pinched' it."

On his father's estate Talbot laboured earnestly in the same cause; promoting the restoration of neglected churches, and the improvement of Divine Worship; serving at the altar; and in all possible ways strengthening the hands of the clergy, and forwarding the work of the Catholic revival in Wales. But our concern is with his life in Holborn. One who observed it closely writes thus:

"He had wonderful sympathy and love for the working man. He loved him for the sake of the Divine Workman of Nazareth. That was his Liberalism—a pure, unselfish, disinterested love of the poor and helpless." He possessed in a singular degree the gift of a child's little faith in the Unseen, and the mysteries of the Mediatorial Kingdom. From the Fatherhood of God, he learned the Brotherhood of Man; and in the social and religious work of St. Alban's he embodied the idea of that brotherhood in its most practical form. We shall hear something more of his life—and of his death—in the succeeding chapter.

In describing the "Men" of St. Alban's, incidental mention has been made of their "Methods"; but, in order to make this chapter complete, those methods must be described in rather fuller detail.

From the beginning, St. Alban's has had the inestimable blessing of a daily Eucharist.[1] We have seen that the Altar was the centre of its system; that frequent Communion, with careful preparation and thanksgiving, was diligently enforced, and that the "Choral Celebration," if not "High Mass" with all liturgical accessories, was from the first the principal service of Sunday. Presently a Communicants' Roll was instituted, and the names of communicants departed were transferred to a Mortuary Book, so that they might be perpetually remembered at the altar. We saw also that the clergy, from the very outset of their work, began to create a variety of agencies for material and intellectual benefit, which now are commonplaces of parochial activity but in 1863 were as rare as they were admirable.

As years went on, the work inside and outside alike, developed. The development of Eucharistic ritual, as we have seen, involved Mackonochie in perpetual worry. "Every device and industry that he anywhere heard report of, as likely to increase in others a faith in, and love for, this most Holy Sacrament, he would enquire about, and, if possible, employ." There were loyal friends of St. Alban's who would have been glad to see some of these exotic usages abandoned, and the enemy thereby deprived of an occasion to blaspheme. But it is to be borne in mind that whenever Mac-

[1] But see p. 144.

konochie, in obedience to a legal Judgment, in deference to his Bishop, or for peace' sake, gave up any particular practice or symbol, the concession was immediately interpreted as justifying past persecution, and made the signal and starting-point for renewed attack.

Mr. Stanton, in an "Interview" reproduced above, is reported to have said that "the great influence of St. Alban's was in the Confessional." The saying attracted a good deal of notice, and not a little alarm among the readers of the *Record*, the *Rock*, and the *Christian Standard;* and with good reason, for it was absolutely true. From the first, Mackonochie and his colleagues had taught the Doctrine of the Keys with a plainness which could not be misunderstood, and had applied it in practice with scrupulous diligence. But those were the days when "the Vestry" was regarded as the place divinely set apart for pastoral intercourse, and it was there that Mackonochie administered the Sacrament of Penance. But after the Mission of 1869 a change was made, enormously to the advantage of all concerned. It was notified that the Clergy would hear confessions in church at fixed hours, and each chose a station where he could be found. There were no "Confessional-boxes," if by that term are meant the solid structures seen in Roman Catholic churches; but only a seat for the Priest fixed crosswise in the open sittings, with a curtain to screen the penitent from curious onlookers. Four or five of these stations were dotted about the church, and henceforward Confession was robbed of all its mystery and half its terrors. The present writer once heard a workman, who had been ad-

miring the picture of the Humiliation of St. Elizabeth in the Tate Gallery, say, instructively, to a neighbour, "That's Confession." If only he had visited St. Alban's on a Friday or Saturday afternoon, his notion of one of the means of grace would have been clearer and also less alarming. The alteration in the way of hearing confessions marked a stage in the history of the Catholic Revival. It was one thing—and a very difficult one—to write to an unknown clergyman and ask for an appointment in his study. It was another—not much more agreeable—to slink into a dismal vestry, like an intending criminal bent on some unlawful act. It is altogether different, and vastly easier, to take one's place among one's fellows in the aisle of a well-lighted church, and then, when one's turn comes, to do one's business without fuss or mystification. This freedom of Confession is a boon which the Church of England owes to St. Alban's.

To the many organizations of the parish were added in process of time a Guild of "Perseverance," intended to keep young communicants steady in the faith, at a time when life is specially difficult, and a "Brotherhood of Jesus of Nazareth," intended to unite working men in the service of the Divine Carpenter. The "Perseverance" was started by Mr. Russell, who, as he said, "stole it from St. Sulpice"; and the Brotherhood by Mr. Stanton. The Easter Procession of Guilds became one of the most beautiful and attractive ceremonies of the church. The Public Luncheon on St. Alban's Day has grown in popularity and renown every year. The Parish Magazine became a valuable organ of connexion between all who loved St. Alban's. School Treats, as every-

where, attained gigantic proportions. A Boxing Day Dinner to parents of scholars promoted good fellowship, but was censured by the enemy as tending to gluttony and drunkenness. A Working Men's Club fell under the wrath of Mrs. Grundy, because it tolerated cards and beer. Dramatic entertainments, enlivened by the Parish Band, and presenting the perilous adventures of Aladdin, Blue Beard, Box and Cox, and Villikins and his Dinah, were criticized as savouring of frivolity. But a Cookery School, in which girls and women could be taught to "serve a simple meal with cleanliness and propriety," made so strong an appeal to our common humanity that it passed without rebuke.

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In 1873 it was announced that, early in the next year, a second "London Mission" would be held. This Mission was much blessed by Bishops, and Evangelicals and Broad Churchmen took part in it, according to their respective fashions. At St. Alban's the way was prepared for it by a "Novena of the Holy Ghost." Mackonochie issued a stirring address on a Mission as a call (1) to open sinners; (2) to God's pledged servants; (3) to the earnest seeker after the truth who had not yet found it; and he laid great stress on the paramount necessity of earnest prayer, if the Mission was not to end in spiritual failure. The Mission began on Saturday evening, February 7, 1874. The chief Missioner at St. Alban's was the Rev. E. A. Hillyard, of St. Laurence's, Norwich, and the proceedings followed the usual course. The Instructions were received with deep attention by crowded congregations, and Confession was freely used. A special

address to men was given at 11.30 P.M. on Friday the 13th. On Monday evening the 16th there was a Service of Thanksgiving, with *Te Deum* and incense and all manner of pomp. It was noticed, with amusement or indignation according to the temperament of the onlooker, that, while the Mission was in progress, a kind of rival Mission was held in the parish by Mr. Martin, who had promoted the litigation against Mackonochie; but in his closing address the Missioner expressed his joy that "others in this parish, with whose theology he had little sympathy, had joined in the work of saving souls, and wished them, with all his heart, God speed." It was half-past ten before this Farewell Service was over; and, as the people poured slowly out, the Missioner came down the nave, and stood at the end of the church, shaking hands and exchanging kindly words with all who went out.

"What mark will the Mission leave at St. Alban's? Let those who sneer at it come to this church three or four times, and judge whether the axe, laid to the root of the tree by a stranger, is resigned to feeble or uncertain hands."

# CHAPTER VI

## FATHERS IN GOD

"The title, 'Father in God,' has never disappeared, whether from the language of the Church, or of the law, or of general literature; and the reality, even in the worst times, has never been wholly without a witness." —H. P. LIDDON.

SAMUEL Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford from 1845 to 1869, and of Winchester from 1869 to his death, was a prelate who played a most important part in the revival of the Church of England. He was in truth what his admirers called him, "The Remodeller of the Episcopate." As an Evangelical by birth and training who had by degrees adopted at any rate some portions of the Catholic position, he was specially fitted for the work of mediating between the High Church and Low Church parties; though he once ruefully asked in a letter to his brother: "*Quære*, have I hardness enough not to be ground to pieces between the Evangelical and Newman mills?" Hardness was indeed the quality which he lacked; his geniality, sympathy, and desire to please made him appear "all things to all men" in a sense not contemplated by the Apostle. He abhorred Romanism, and had no great liking for Ritualism; but Ritualists were men of flesh and blood, many of them trained under his own eye at Cuddesdon, not seldom his personal friends; and he would not, if he could prevent it, allow them to be

crushed. An amusing instance of the methods by which he tried to serve them is recorded in the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Ritual in 1867. The Commission adopted a draft-Report, which, though presented by Mr. Hubbard, had been drawn by the Bishop; "and the secret of its success was . . . the judicious use of the word 'restrain' with regard to vestments, instead of the word 'abolish' or 'prohibit.' The main body of the Commissioners failed to perceive the elasticity of this word, which in fact did leave a loophole for the regulated use of vestments."[1] A Ritualistic Incumbent of the London diocese, when his attention was called to this judicious word "restrain," said: "Yes, I see. The Report only means that one may not wear two chasubles at once. That is quite good."

As long as Bishop Wilberforce lived, it was impossible for Archbishop Tait, whose leading notion of governance was to persecute Ritualists, and for Archbishop Thomson, whose ambition was "to stamp out Ritualism," to accomplish their amiable designs. The Bishop outmanœuvred them at every turn, and, though he shook his head at the "extreme men," he restrained the forces of Episcopal intolerance.

Ritualism had yet another protector in the greatest layman whom the English Church ever produced. Mr. Gladstone was an English Catholic of the historic school. He was no Ritualist. "I am," he said in old age, "too independent of symbol;" but he loved freedom and justice. In 1867 he wrote:

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[1] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. iii. chap. 7.

"Yesterday I saw, for the first time, the service in a Ritualistic church proper. There was much in it that I did not like, could not defend as good, perhaps could not claim toleration for. But that must be in the last—the very last—resort."

Eleven years later he wrote: "My sympathy with the Ritualists is founded entirely on the one-sided, shabby, cruel treatment of them"—and no doubt it was a deep and strong foundation.

With the most influential Bishop on the Bench for one of their defenders, and the Prime Minister for another, the Ritualists had nothing to fear; but it might be said without irreverence that in 1873 "the Lord began to cut Israel short." In July of that year Bishop Wilberforce was killed by a fall from his horse; and the General Election of February 1874 drove Mr. Gladstone from office—as people supposed, for ever. This combination of events let loose the persecuting zeal of the Archbishops, who thought that the moment had now arrived for a final attack on such of the clergy as were labouring to restore the dignity of Eucharistic worship.

Early in March 1874, some articles appeared in the *Times* foreshadowing coercive legislation against the Ritualists; and the enemy took heart of grace. On the 27th of March 1874, it was announced at the Annual Meeting of the Church Association that "as Mr. Mackonochie was the great offender, he was to be brought before the Courts of Law in a new suit for the offences which he was constantly committing in his church." The proceedings would include not only those matters which had been already decided, but would also raise the

question whether Mackonochie was right in having "erected a Confessional" in the church, and in having given notice of the times at which Confessions could be heard.

On this declaration of war, the congregation of St. Alban's began to bestir themselves in self-defence, and their first move was to apply for guidance to the Bishop of London—Dr. Jackson, who had succeeded Tait at the beginning of 1869. Bishop Jackson was chilling and unfatherly in manner, but a truly devout Evangelical. "I own," said Liddon after his death, "that I think of him with pleasure. He was not a strong man; but he was, according to the tenour of his convictions, a servant of our Lord and not of the world." The Bishop, with a view to promoting peace, recommended Mackonochie to remove a large crucifix, which had been found very helpful in the Mission of the previous February, and also the curtains which protected people making their Confessions from ill-bred curiosity. Mackonochie at once complied, but, as usual, his compliance failed to pacify the foe.

Easter was observed with its accustomed ceremonies, "the whole spectacle," according to the *Daily Telegraph*, "being sumptuous and joyful." But the Paschal season was rudely disturbed. On the 20th of April 1874, Archbishop Tait introduced the ill-starred Public Worship Regulation Bill into the House of Lords, with a good deal of plausible rhetoric about "young and inexperienced men," "the just rights of parishioners," and "the substitution of summary process for the present system of protracted litigation." The Bill, considerably

altered for the worse at the instance of such violent partisans as Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Cairns, soon passed the House of Lords. In the House of Commons, Disraeli, who had become Prime Minister on Gladstone's defeat, welcomed it with effusion. "This," he said, "is a Bill to put down Ritualism." As such, he believed that it would be popular, and, with his assistance, it became law, in spite of Gladstone's vigorous and single-handed opposition. It was to come into operation on the 1st of July 1875, and thenceforward, all questions about the mode of performing Divine Service were to be referred to a lay judge, appointed by the Archbishops jointly to hear and determine all representations under the Act, in either Province. This was indeed a short and easy method of crushing Ritualism; and, in order to make it offensive as well as unfair, the two Archbishops chose as their judge and representative Lord Penzance, who had hitherto presided over the unsavoury business of the Divorce Court.

Such is the early history of the Public Worship Regulation Act. Before long the instrument of tyranny broke in the clumsy hands which had forged it, and its fragments to-day lie rusting in the lumber-room of archiepiscopal failures. But in 1874 this particular failure was not foreseen, and it seemed as if Ritualism, and indeed all decency in public worship, were doomed to immediate extinction.

As the Act was not to come into force till 1875, the Church Association was constrained to institute its new suit against Mackonochie in the old Court of Arches. The indefatigable Mr. Martin applied to

the Bishop of London for the usual "Letters of Request"; but the Bishop held that, as Mackonochie had removed "the screens or curtains used for Confession," there was now no ground for proceeding against him for having erected a "Confessional." With regard to all the other points—Lighted Candles, Undue Elevation, Processions with Crucifix, Banner and Candles, the *Agnus Dei*, the Sign of the Cross, Kissing the Prayer-Book, Wafer-bread, Vestments, and the Eastward Position—the Bishop granted the "Letters of Request," and the suit was begun in the Court of Arches on the 22nd of May 1874.

In view of what followed, it is expedient at this point to describe another lawsuit which had lately taken place. The Rev. John Purchas, Incumbent of St. James's Chapel, Brighton, had been charged in the Court of Arches with a variety of Ritualistic actions, some of which indeed were so curious as to be even laughable, while some were the commonplaces of Eucharistic worship. Mr. Purchas declined to appear either personally or by counsel. The Dean of Arches decided against him on most of the points, but justified him in the use of the Eucharistic Vestments, the Eastward Position, Wafer-bread, and (when not mixed ceremonially) the mixed Chalice. The Promoter, ill-satisfied with this very partial victory, appealed to the Judicial Committee, and on the 23rd of February 1871 the Judicial Committee delivered their Judgment, which has been thus described by the present Archbishop of Canterbury:[1]

"It was a very long and careful document . . . and from the elaborate arguments it adduces, and

[1] R. T. Davidson.

from the constant references to authorities more or less ambiguous or obscure, it was naturally vulnerable at many points. Briefly summarized, it reversed the decision of the Dean of Arches on all the important points which he had decided in Mr. Purchas's favour. It declared the Vestments, the Eastward Position, the Wafer-bread, and the mixed Chalice to be all illegal, and condemned Mr. Purchas in the costs both of the suit and the appeal."

No sooner was this Judgment delivered, than a storm of indignation began to roll up from all quarters. A protest signed by 4700 clergy was presented to the Archbishops and Bishops. An extract from a letter of Bishop Wilberforce to Archbishop Tait expressed a widespread feeling:

"We are in sad trouble as to this last decision of the Privy Council, and I greatly fear the result. The mere suppression of vestments would have passed quietly enough, but the imperative injunction to consecrate at the north end cuts far deeper, and will not be obeyed. Men feel the one-sidedness of the Judgment, the playing with words in deciding that 'standing before the Table' is not to mean it when Purchas is condemned, and is to mean it when Mackonochie is. . . . It is a very distracting time, and unless God hears our prayers will end in a great schism."

The Archbishop replied with a good-tempered contempt for the victims of persecution, and with his usual lack of insight and foresight:

"I have read the Purchas Judgment carefully. . . . I confess I think it will be a great mistake if the High Church party generally excite themselves

respecting the position at the Communion Table. Of course the Vestments will be dropped, because they will be legally complained against, and Bishops will be called to enforce the law; but in minor matters we do not all observe all the Rubrics, and, till there is formal complaint, no harm is done."

Such was the law of Ritual as defined by the Court of Final Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes, and endorsed by both the Primates, when Mr. Martin began his fresh suit against Mackonochie.

On the 28th of May 1874, a crowded meeting of Parishioners and Communicants was held at the School in Leigh Court, and the following Memorial and Protest were unanimously adopted:

"MEMORIAL

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON

"*The humble Petition of the undersigned Parishioners and Members of the Congregation of the Parish Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn*

"*Sheweth:*

"I. That your Petitioners learn with great sorrow that the Clergy and congregation of the above Church are threatened with a renewal of the annoyances and prosecutions to which they have been before subjected with regard to certain observances which are highly esteemed by them as exponents of the Catholic Faith professed by the Church of England.

"II. That your Petitioners knowing, from past experience, the grievous injury done to the work of the Parish by that which they deem to be an un-

warrantable interference with their privileges as loyal members of the Church, and fully believing in your Lordship's sympathy with every work which tends to the glory of Almighty God and the salvation of souls, beg very respectfully to lay the following statement before your Lordship:

"(*a*) This petition emanates solely from the laity who worship at the Church of St. Alban the Martyr, and they have taken this step in order to show to your Lordship that they consider themselves deeply aggrieved.

"(*b*) The ritual that has been gradually developed has been requested at each successive stage by the laity, so that there is no pretence for saying that it has been forced upon an unwilling congregation.

"(*c*) We feel that the interest taken by us in the work of the Parish sufficiently warrants us in petitioning your Lordship; and although unwilling to speak of our personal deeds, we cannot on this occasion forbear to state that a great amount of actual work is done by the laity, and that a very large sum of money, not less than £50,000, has been expended during the past eleven years upon the services of the Church, the Schools, and various works of mercy.

"(*d*) We firmly believe in all the doctrines of which Ritual is but the outward sign. We value lights, incense, and kneeling, because they teach the Real Presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist. We lament the removal of the Crucifix, because it so eloquently preached Christ crucified. And we regret the

removal of the Confessionals, which has been caused by an interference which is inconsistent with religious liberty.

"(*e*) We feel that if the opposition be honest, it is aimed rather at doctrine than at ritual; so that while we have the plain words of the Prayer Book to teach us the former, we claim the right of having the latter to set it forth more clearly.

"(*f*) We further believe that the ritual used is entirely in accordance with the law of the Church of England, and with the spirit of the Prayer Book, which cannot be interpreted by the neglect of past years, and upon which the conflicting Judgments in recent suits throw no light whatever.

"III. That your Petitioners in laying this statement before your Lordship, simply ask for toleration. And that they pray your Lordship to protect the Priests of this Church, whose self-denying labours have, under the blessing of Almighty God, resulted in such a marked way in the spread of our Holy Religion and in the due observance of its ordinances.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c."

"PROTEST

To the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London

"My Lord,—Before the preceding Memorial could be presented, we learnt that a prosecution had commenced, and therefore venture to protest to your Lordship, as strongly as we can, against the course

adopted by our opponents, and to submit that we feel most deeply, in the first place, the great evil which must result to this Parish from the interference with the work of our Priests; and secondly, our annoyance at the attack on religious liberty to which as Englishmen we feel that we are justly entitled.

"My Lord, this question touches the laity very deeply. We ourselves feel that the time has arrived when we must speak and act publicly in this matter, and declare that we fully believe in all those doctrines which are really being attacked under the pretence of an attack on the outward symbolism of Ritual. In this belief, my Lord, we do not stand alone; there are thousands of Members of the Church of England who think as we do; and we venture to assert that the events of past years point unmistakably to the fact, that the laity will not be content unless their faith is set forth by a corresponding ritual.

"In conclusion, we declare our unfeigned devotion to our branch of the Church Catholic. We beg your Lordship to remember that the Church of England has under its present constitution always embraced men of various schools of thought. And we venture to leave in your Lordship's hands this our strongest possible protest, desiring only that liberty and toleration which is extended to all other schools in the Church.

"We must consider this letter, together with the draft Memorial and your Lordship's reply, as intended for publication.

"We are, my Lord, your Lordship's humble and faithful servants."

(This document was signed by 1918 Communicants.)

At the same meeting the following Resolution was adopted, and the chairman was directed to transmit it to the Vicar:—

> "That this Meeting desires to express its entire sympathy with Mr. Mackonochie and the other Clergy of St. Alban's in this fresh outbreak of persecution, and hereby pledges itself to uphold and protect them to the utmost of its power."

Mackonochie's reply was as follows:

My dear Mr. Fifoot,—I have to thank you, and, through you, to express to those whose kind resolution you have sent me, my most hearty thanks for it and all their goodness.

We, your clergy, have had such unceasing proofs of that sympathy and support, of which the resolution is a renewed expression, that the knowledge of it can never be absent from our hearts, or fail to animate us with fresh vigour in the great cause of Truth.

There are parishes in which the duty of the priest compels him to make a stand for certain points of esssential truth, when his people, even where well-disposed as to things in general, cannot bear the full teaching of the Truth. In yourselves God has given to us, your priests, a body of lay communicants ready to receive and to co-operate in the promulgation of all that the Catholic Faith requires us to teach and practise. We are "all of one heart and of one mind," thank God, and both people and priests know that they are so. You

regret that you cannot more fully share the trial which falls upon us: but then we, on our side, cannot help feeling, that, in many ways, you have much more at stake than we. So long as we have hands and a tongue, we can only by being deprived of liberty be kept from saying Mass; but for you the bad times may come back—though I do not for a moment believe that they will—when you shall be deprived of priests to give you the Sacraments at all. It is a great blessing that you are alive to the fact that God rarely helps those who do not help themselves. You are up and doing. "Be strong, and He shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord;" or, if I may give you another rendering, "Wait on the Lord; quit you like men: and be your heart strengthened: and wait on the Lord." With kind love to you all, from myself and your other priests.—Your most affectionate Father in our Lord Jesus Christ,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

The Memorial and Protest were presented to the Bishop of London at London House by a Deputation of Parishioners, headed by the Churchwardens. The Bishop opened the proceedings by reminding his hearers that the case, having now been remitted to the Court of Arches, was out of his hands, and that therefore he could not be expected to say much. In this he was as good as his word. He listened to the Deputation "with the most courteous attention," but confined his remarks to an expression of sympathy with all conscientious persons in distress. When he had made an end of speaking, Mr. Theodore Talbot spoke as follows about the

changes which, for peace sake, Mackonochie had introduced:

"I beg to urge upon your Lordship the fact that the congregation of St. Alban's feel themselves very harshly treated. For example, we consider that the removal of the curtains used in Confession is a gross insult to Penitents, who are thereby exposed to the rude gaze of any profane idler who desires to gratify his prurient curiosity, or display his bad manners. The congregation practise Confession as before, as they have a perfect right to do, and they feel that they ought to enjoy this right, free from annoyance and indignity."

Other members of the Deputation addressed the Bishop in a similar strain, but his Lordship kept silence, yea, even from good words, and his petitioners departed. On the 22nd of June another meeting was held in the Schools to receive the report of the Deputation. The meeting, as might be expected, unanimously resolved that it "regarded with much dissatisfaction the Bishop's reply to the Memorial and Protest," and some strong speeches were made. The conclusion of the whole matter was, in the words of an eye-witness, that "everyone seemed determined to defend real religious liberty, and to defeat the attempts to stamp out Ritualism."

Amid all this hurly-burly, the calmest figure on the scene was that of the persecuted Vicar. His Annual Letter to the Parish on St. Alban's Day, 1874, ends on a note of characteristic courage.

"So now we buckle on our armour afresh, and renew for another year our vows as Christ's soldiers to fight the bad within us, and the enemy without. It is easy to see that the latter is strengthening

himself against both Faith and Holiness in every part of Christ's Church; and we must know little of ourselves if we do not perceive that the keeping of the inner Citadel for our Lord and Saviour against the treachery of personal sin, is no easy matter. But courage, Brethren! Humility and love, faith and prayer, will, with the Blessing of the Father, keep us, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, in that knowledge of Him, and of His dear Son, which is Life Eternal."

# CHAPTER VII

## FIGHTINGS AND FEARS

"Lord Houghton met me on the steps of the Athenæum. 'You are as triumphant as Laud in his worst times: I hope it is not to end in the same way.'"—ARCHBISHOP TAIT'S DIARY (*July* 19, 1874).

IT is difficult, except for those who passed through it, to realize the stress of 1874. The Ritualists saw arrayed against them a powerful and unscrupulous Prime Minister; the two Archbishops, both able men and both bent on destroying Ritual; a bench of pavid bishops; an absolutely united House of Commons;[1] a House of Lords bewildered and divided; and the whole weight of the Press, Society, and, so far as it could be ascertained, Public Opinion. No wonder that men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which were coming on the Church. It is true that the older men were less perturbed than the younger. Dr. Pusey wrote: "For ourselves I fear nothing. We are persuaded that the law is with us in all that is important for the truth's sake." Dr. Liddon said: "Of course there is no reason for despondency. We shall live to see the drowned Egyptians on the shore even yet." Dr. King wrote: "We must turn-to again, and teach in the quiet Early Tract-

[1] Mr. Gladstone could find no support for six Resolutions by which he tried to render the P. W. R. Bill less noxious, and they were accordingly dropped.

arian way. That seems the thing to do—not to lose heart, or get hard with disappointment, but to get a help in Humility, feeling that Parliament does not like us or want us. We have perhaps lost of late by gaining the masses—I mean lost in purity of intention and unworldliness."

Yet the present writer remembers that Dr. Bright, then Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, was seriously uneasy: and Archdeacon Denison promoted a Memorial, very largely signed by dignitaries and beneficed clergy, against any attempt to enforce uniformity of ceremonial. But it was on the younger men that the stress of the time weighed most heavily. They had grown to man's estate in the love of the Catholic faith, expressed in Catholic ritual. Their zeal was not always according to knowledge. Perhaps they were inclined to think too much of the sign, and too little of the Thing Signified. At any rate the sign and the Thing were so closely associated in their thought and feeling, that the threatened destruction of the one seemed to imperil the other. Under the distress of 1874, some of them proved to be "too quick despairers." They could not wait twelve months to see what actually would happen when the P. W. R. Act came into operation. They assumed the worst. They persuaded themselves that all was over. Henceforward the Church of England was to be something new and strange: something to which they had never sworn their allegiance; something in which they could never feel at home. Many seceded at once to Rome; others, restrained in several cases by Newman's influence, held back for a while, but with ever-decreasing confidence in

the Anglican position. Again, there were some who were less troubled by attacks on Ritual, or the doctrines which Ritual expresses, than by the intrusion of a secular Parliament into the affairs of the Bride of Christ; and these found their way into unestablished communities, such as the Irvingite Body and the Plymouth Brethren. And yet again there were men who had intended to offer themselves for Holy Orders, but who, foreseeing a holocaust of Catholics, declined to give themselves up as a living prey to the ex-Divorce Judge, and, while remaining in the English Church, changed their scheme of life.

On the 13th of August 1874, Archdeacon Denison wrote: "The particular Evil Spirit who has it in charge to corrupt, and in the end destroy, the Church of England is *Cosmophilus*, the Spirit of Compromise. He writes all the leaders in the *Guardian*, and has done so for many years. He writes also a great deal in the *Times*.

"I don't know what to say about the Brighton Congress. Congresses muddle all things, and fix and clear none. *Cosmophilus* will be there with a great following."

This prediction concerning the Church Congress, which assembled at Brighton in October 1874, was verified to the letter. There were, in the Archdeacon's vigorous phrase, "very offensive speeches, lay and clerical, and an immense row." The confusion and perplexity of the Ritualistic party were made painfully apparent. "Some cried one thing, and some another, and the assembly was confused." The only point which emerged quite clearly was that every one regarded the P. W. R. Act as a monstrous invasion of the Church's rights,

and full of danger to the Catholic cause. How to vindicate those rights and how to defend that cause were questions on which no two people seemed agreed. As soon as the Courts re-opened after the Vacation, the actual hearing of the case against Mackonochie began in the Court of Arches. Mackonochie appeared under protest. Counsel and Judge retraversed the familiar ground, for the only fresh point—the erection of a Confessional—had been omitted by the Bishop of London from the Letters of Request. Now appears the importance of the Purchas Judgment, to which reference was made in the last chapter. The Dean of Arches regarded himself as bound by that decision of the Judicial Committee, although it conflicted at several points with his own previous rulings. In his Judgment, delivered on the 7th of December, he acquitted Mackonochie of undue Elevation, but condemned him on all the remaining counts, and sentenced him to six weeks' Suspension. Hereupon Mackonochie gave notice of appeal, believing, as he subsequently stated, that the Appeal would be heard by the new Court of Judicature created by the P. W. R. Act. "Although," he said, "the new Court will have no more valid spiritual jurisdiction in spiritual causes than the present, yet its constitution gives more hope of an impartial administration of justice."

However, in the earlier part of 1875, it became apparent that the Appeal would come on before the 1st of July, and therefore must be heard by the Judicial Committee. Accordingly, on the 21st of May, Mackonochie withdrew it, and notified the fact in a dignified letter to the Archbishop of

Canterbury. "The whole history of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from its first existence makes it impossible to trust its impartiality as constituted for ecclesiastical cases, and my own personal experience has taught me that I have no ground to expect from it either consideration or fairness."

The letter concluded thus:

"I cannot forbear from laying before your Grace the following facts as to the position of myself and others who value more than life their fidelity to Christ in this Church of England. I have been now more than twenty-six years in Sacred Orders. During the whole of that time I have endeavoured, to the best of my power, to obey the laws of that Church, and minister her offices for the glory of God and for the edification of His people. How I may have served in that capacity for the first of these objects it will be for the Great Day to show: as to the latter, it would be a foolish assumption of ignorance not to own that God has blessed me. What has been the result? With the very rarest exceptions, I have received not one word of encouragement from my superiors in the Church: I have now been four times dragged before Courts: I have stood in Court side by side as a fellow-culprit with a Clerk charged with adultery; I have found in the Highest Court of Appeal every door for his escape obsequiously held open by his Judges, and the one door of justice and equity as vigorously barred by the same hands against me.

"I do not, your Grace, complain, but venture to state facts."

On the withdrawal of the Appeal, the sentence of the Court of Arches took effect, and on the 13th of June 1875, Mackonochie found himself suspended for six weeks.

This event was the signal for some very decisive actions. The suspended Vicar, like a wise man, took a holiday, and retired from the strife of tongues to Italy, leaving the parish to the care of his loved and trusted colleague, Mr. Stanton. On Sunday the 13th of June, the services were performed as usual, Mr. Stanton preaching an impassioned sermon on the Suspension, and the legal system under which such an outrage had been possible. On the 20th of June the proceedings were the same, Mr. Stanton laying stress on the fact that a poor parish was persecuted, while rich parishes, where the same ritual was used, were left undisturbed.

On the 21st of June a large meeting of the Congregation and Communicants was held in the School-Room. A strong Protest against Mackonochie's Suspension, and the Purchas Judgment on which it was founded, was unanimously adopted, and a copy was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that he would "receive a Deputation to present the Protest in due form."

On the 24th of June, Mr. Stanton, as Curate in charge of the parish, was admitted to an interview with the Bishop of London, who directed him to conduct the services according to the Purchas Judgment: he was to wear no vestment except a surplice—not even a stole—and was to celebrate the Holy Eucharist with such bread as was in ordinary use.

The immediate result of this interview was that the following notice was affixed to the doors of the Church:

"*N.B.* There will be no celebration of Holy Communion in this Church until further notice. All other services as usual.

"A. H. STANTON.

"ST. ALBAN'S CLERGY HOUSE, *June* 24, 1875."

On the 26th of June the Archbishop replied to the request of the meeting held on the 21st. He stated that it would be inconsistent with his duty to receive a Protest against the decision of the Judge of his Provincial Court; but he expressed his willingness to advise any who thought fit to seek his counsel.[1]

On Sunday, the 27th, Mattins was said as usual. At the end of the office, Mr. Stanton mounted the pulpit, and announced that the absent Vicar thoroughly approved of the course which he had taken. He spoke very gently of the Bishop of London, who felt himself bound to regulate the service according to the Purchas Judgment. The Clergy, on the other hand, felt that it would be irreverent in them, believing as they did in the Eucharistic Presence, to celebrate the Sacred Mysteries with the maimed rites which the Judicial Committee enjoined, and he believed that the whole congregation felt as they felt. "Would any of you," he exclaimed, pointing to his surplice, "have me stand at the Altar in such a vestment as *this?*"

[1] A second application to the same effect received the same response, dated July 9, 1875.

What then was to be done? He asked them all to follow him out of church, when the collection had been made, and, without fuss or demonstration, to accompany him across Holborn Viaduct and through Newgate Street, to St. Vedast's Church, Foster Lane, just behind the old General Post Office, where they would find a Solemn Celebration at twenty minutes to twelve.

The suggestion was enthusiastically adopted, and the congregation followed the clergy to St. Vedast's, which they filled to overflowing. There Mr. Stanton preached from the text—"Be ye therefore merciful, even as your Father also is merciful." This lesson, he said, was illustrated by the action of the Rector of St. Vedast's, who, when the Clergy at St. Alban's were considering their course, came to the Clergy House and offered them the use of his church for a special Celebration every Sunday, while the Suspension lasted. The service then went forward with the accustomed adjuncts, the Celebrant being one of the curates of St. Alban's, the Rev. G. R. Hogg.

This dramatic action evoked a chorus of indignation, astonishment, and disgust from all such as expected the Ritualists to submit uncomplainingly to every species of injustice; and in that chorus the papers which speak for "Churchmen of the Old School," and the "respectable" classes generally, bore their full part. This outburst had its due effect on the Bishop of London, who on the 3rd of July prohibited the Clergy of St. Alban's from officiating in any church where the illegal ornaments were used. On Sunday the 4th, Mr. Stanton preached at Mattins, and suggested that, as the con-

gregation was too large for St. Vedast's, those who could not find room there might attend the Midday Celebration at St. Paul's Cathedral.

On Sunday the 11th and Sunday the 18th of July, the same procedure was observed; but between those two dates a striking incident had occurred. Some of the working men belonging to the congregation formed themselves into a committee for the support of their Parish Priest.[1] In a few days they procured 525 signatures to a Protest against Mackonochie's Suspension, and they obtained the favour of an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The interview took place at Lambeth Palace on Thursday evening, July 15; and there was an entertaining dialogue between the Archbishop and his visitors.

In the first place, His Grace said, as he had said before, that he could not receive a Protest; "but," he added, "if you, individual members of the Church of England, want to have a talk with me, who am the Chief Minister of the Church of England, I am quite willing to hear you and give you advice."

The Secretary of the Deputation said that it had been a very great surprise to him and his friends that all of a sudden they were debarred from Holy Communion. "By whom?" asked the Archbishop. The Secretary replied that the Clergy of St. Alban's would not celebrate according to the Purchas Judgment, and that, if they did, he and his brethren would not receive.

[1] Out of this Committee grew "The Church of England Working Men's Society."

"Then," said the Archbishop, "it is not your Clergy who debar you, but yourselves."

The Protest, modified into a "Memorial," was then read. It set forth that the Working Men of St. Alban's considered themselves deeply aggrieved that their freedom of worship should have been attacked, and begged His Grace to take their Memorial into consideration.

*Archbishop.* "What do you want me to do?"

*Secretary.* "We want your Grace to allow the Services to proceed as before."

*Archbishop.* "You ought to go to the Bishop of London. St. Alban's is not in my diocese."

The Secretary then asked for a public expression of sympathy, and the Archbishop replied that he felt great sympathy with anyone who found his connexion with his pastor interrupted, "whether by the pastor's fault or by whoever's fault it is." In this case, he thought it was the pastor's.

The dialogue then went on merrily. Tait's chief gift was his skill in debate, and the workmen who now tackled him gave him opportunities for some shrewd replies.

They objected to Mr. Martin as a non-parishioner. The Archbishop had no doubt that the point had been considered at the trial and overruled.

The Secretary wished to read "Extracts respecting the uncertainty of the law"; and the Archbishop remarked that, in the case of an appeal, the inferior Court was bound to obey the superior. "If a man is to be allowed to set his own will against the declared law of the land, what on earth is to become of us? What do we keep judges for, except to declare the law? and, when once

they have laid it down, it must be obeyed." The Secretary "did not want to be entrapped into a legal argument. We came here for advice." The Archbishop was ready to give advice.

*Secretary.* "Where and how are we to get Holy Communion?"

*Archbishop.* "In any church you please to enter."

*Secretary.* "We want it as we have it at St. Alban's."

*Archbishop.* "You can't get it. . . . Supposing you belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, and you said that you wished to receive the Holy Communion according to the law of the Protestant Church, of course you wouldn't get it."

The Secretary complained that the Bishop of London did not come and explain matters, and preach to the people, and take Confirmations in St. Alban's. The Archbishop replied: "And quite right too. If he were to go to St. Alban's, and mix himself up with your ceremonies, it would be taken as a recognition of them."

The Secretary complained that Mr. Stanton had been misrepresented. What Mr. Stanton had really said was that he would not celebrate the Sacrament in a common choir-boy's dress.

*Archbishop.* "If Mr. Stanton used those words relating to the surplice, he spoke unadvisedly with his lips, and I am ready to tell him so if I have the pleasure of meeting him."

Then followed a brisk and prolonged debate on the doctrine and ritual of Holy Communion, the Archbishop relying of course on law and authority, but affirming his willingness to "be of use in smoothing matters." He professed himself to be

"A Catholic—both a Catholic and a Protestant," and surprised his hearers by saying: "In all respects I suppose you will allow the Bishops are good Catholics—and none of them have worn these vestments and used these ceremonials."

After some further dalliance, the Secretary said: "This is a Working Man's question; and, when the working classes of this country become aware of the manner in which their heritage in Church matters is being attacked, they will rise up, and the Church of England, as an Established Church, will fall. The Working Men of themselves could cause the whole fabric to fall about your ears."

*Archbishop* (smiling). "Oh nonsense, nonsense. As to refusing to receive the Communion without these dresses, you show little appreciation of the Holy Ordinance which our Lord Himself appointed." [1]

On the 19th of July the Secretary, undaunted by his experiences at Lambeth, tried the same methods at Fulham, requesting that a Deputation might wait upon the Bishop, to ask his advice and assistance; but the Bishop would not receive them unless he were apprised beforehand of the points to be submitted, and, when he had read in the *Church Times* the report of the proceedings at Lambeth, he emphatically declined to receive the deputation.

By the 23rd of July, Mackonochie was back among his flock. On that evening an Address of Welcome was presented to him at a crowded meeting

[1] The only paper in which this interview was reported was the *Church Times* of July 23, 1875. As given here, it is condensed from *The Church in Baldwin's Gardens.*

held in the New Schools. In presenting the address (which bore 3350 signatures), Mr. Theodore Talbot made a vigorous speech.

"Let me," he said in conclusion, "remind you of two of the great measures carried in this country within the last fifty years—first, the Reform Bill, and then the Repeal of the Corn-Laws. Take the trouble to look back, and what do we see? That not only were the advocates of Free Trade denounced as foolish, but they were called rebellious. It was said: 'If these measures become law, the sun of England will soon set.' I venture to say that, in years to come, it will be acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of this land that the clergy and congregation of St. Alban's have been in the right, and that the Church of England owes them a deep debt of gratitude. Then we have been accused of believing, and our clergy of teaching, that ritual, lights, vestments, and the like, are essential to the validity of the Blessed Sacrament. Now I desire, on your and our own behalf, to repudiate in the most public and emphatic way a belief in any such nonsense. The ritual has no more to do with the validity of the Blessed Sacrament than it has to do with the building of Holborn Viaduct or London Bridge. All Catholics know what are the essentials of the Blessed Sacrament: 1, A Priest; 2, Bread and Wine; and 3, the Words of Institution; and, where you have these things, it does not signify whether the Blessed Sacrament is celebrated at the High Altar of St. Peter's by the Pope himself, or in the desert, on a stone, by the humblest priest. That is not the question; the question is whether we, as members

of the Church of England, having certain rights, have not a right to see, and assist at, the celebration of the Divine Mysteries according to a certain ordering. Now I believe that we are one and all of us convinced that any fair interpretation of the intention of the Reformation and the rubrics of the Prayer Book must absolutely bear out our view of the question, and that, although the Church of England does not enforce the ritual, it is clearly the mind of the Church that the Eucharist should be celebrated with a high ritual. And believing that, as English Churchmen, these are our rights, we ask Father Mackonochie not to celebrate the Blessed Sacrament with mutilated rites—not as a question of validity, but because we refuse to dishonour It. We are determined on the point ourselves. We intend to obtain our rights by showing that we will not attend a Celebration at St. Alban's Church if conducted according to the ruling of the Purchas Judgment.

"In conclusion, Reverend Father, I desire again, on the part of this Congregation, to express as strongly as I possibly can that we do not desire to offer you the slightest dictation as to the course you should pursue. We know that the case is surrounded by many difficulties, but we say that the Congregation will uphold you, and stand by you, be the consequences what they may, up to the very end.

"I wish I could find language more forcibly to express the intense love and devotion we pay to you for all you have done for us. We have perfect confidence in the judgment you will form. We leave the matter entirely in your hands, because we

know that you will not come to any rash decision. We know you will have spent very much time in fervent prayer and meditation. We know too the fervent intercessions which have been going on for the last week. We need hardly say that you have been remembered in those intercessions, and we feel positively certain that you will decide, not according to your own feelings—not according to the mere private feelings of individuals—but in such a way as shall be best for the care of the parish, and for the interests of the Church of England."

To this Mackonochie replied with admirable cheerfulness:

"The clouds seem to have cleared away so far, and to be clearing away day after day. One knows not whether every hindrance will be taken away. One thing only I will say. You may be perfectly certain that, as long as I hold the position I do, the Blessed Sacrament will never be celebrated according to the Purchas Judgment. Whatever else happens, that won't happen; and I am thankful to stand with my brother-Priests and Church-workers, and hear such a shout as assures me that I shall have *them* with me whatever happens."

The Suspension expired on the 24th of July, and on the previous day Mackonochie addressed the Bishop of London in a Letter which deserves to be given in full.

My dear Lord Bishop,—The circumstances under which I resume the Sacred Ministries of my Office demand from me some few words of comment. For many reasons, there is no one to whom I can so fitly address these words as to your Lordship.

My Suspension compelled me to leave to your Lordship the Pastoral care of God's people committed to my charge; the guardianship of the liberties of the Clergy associated with me in the work of the Parish; and the office of strenuous Protector of the Church of Christ, and her Rites and Ceremonies, against the tyranny of the enemy. I must crave leave, with the most profound deference for your Lordship's office, to remonstrate as respectfully, but also as earnestly, as I can, against the manner in which the duties thus devolving upon you have been discharged. Generally, I do not find that your Lordship has once come to the Parish, to give to the people smarting under the injustice done to them one word of sympathy or comfort, either in church or otherwise. I do not find that you have addressed to my brother Clergy any advice but such as the mere axioms of the code of honour between man and man forbade them to accept; and I find them, in consequence of their endeavour to minister to our people without compromising your Lordship, desired in your letter of the 3rd inst., to desist from taking part in the Service of God in any Church in your Lordship's Diocese except this. I am aware that the wording of your letter restricts the direction to the not officiating in any Church "where the same ornaments and ceremonies, *or any of them*, are in use." I cannot say for certain, but I greatly doubt there being a single Church in the Diocese where none of the prescribed ornaments are used. But let me speak somewhat more specifically.

I. It will be said that it was your Lordship's duty to enforce the Law, and that you believe the discredited "Purchas Judgment" to be Law; there-

fore you could not help yourself. Let it be granted that you were bound so to enforce a Judgment given in one case without a defence, in the other without a hearing. Was it therefore necessary to call upon the Clergy of the Parish, in the enforced absence of their head, to inaugurate a new policy in direct contradiction to the plan of his work? Could they in common honour have consented to lend themselves to such action? Your Lordship was once a Parish Priest. Imagine some enemy stirring up the Courts against the Rector of St. James', Westminster, thirty years ago. Imagine a sentence of Suspension unjustly obtained against him, for some part of his work which he knew himself to be absolutely bound to uphold. We must suppose such an one to have had some convictions of the positive obligation of something—an obligation going beyond human Courts, up to the Court of God. Imagine him to find that during his Suspension a Senior Curate, whom he had trusted as himself, had consented to be made the agent for upsetting that which his Rector knew to be of such vital importance to his own very existence before God. What would he have thought of his Curate? But still it will be said, "What was the Bishop to do?" I would venture, my Lord, to suggest that there was only one course—that which St. Peter or St. Paul would have adopted—that which even in these degenerate days a Wilberforce or a Hamilton would have followed—to have himself taken charge of the Parish, releasing the Parochial clergy from their obligations, and himself, with the aid of his Chaplains, carrying on the Services for the time. No doubt the Parish

would not have liked the course, but it would have respected it for its courage and straightforwardness.

II. But your Lordship "will not anticipate any unwillingness" on the part of the Clergy here, to directly reverse the whole principle of my work as regards the externals of Divine Service, and to strip the highest act of the Church's Worship of the commonest requirements of decency. It is true that your Lordship only requires a compliance with this direction on the part of the Assistant Clergy during my absence; but it is manifest that, had they consented to act in accordance with it, they would at least have compromised to a great degree any action on my return.

It may have been your Lordship's surprise at finding an unwillingness which you had not anticipated, that induced you to show so great harshness in your action towards Mr. Stanton and his colleagues. I mention Mr. Stanton specially, both because of the wilful misrepresentations of his words and acts by the daily press, and also because his position as Senior of my Brethren working with me, and his standing of nearly thirteen years as Curate in the Diocese, during the whole of which time he has worked entirely without remuneration, place him in a somewhat different position from most of the others. How stands the question with regard to them? After the interview with your Lordship on St. John Baptist's Day, they found themselves in this position:

(i) Responsible to me, as Priest of the Parish, and more still to the Great Head of the Church, for giving the Bread of Life to our people.

(ii) Debarred by your Lordship from giving It to them in this Church, in such a way as they could conscientiously give It, or the people conscientiously receive It from them.

Your Lordship's demands, although in some points greatly exceeding the decrees of the Court, were without question minutely obeyed by the St. Alban's clergy. But to minister the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist was impossible, even if your Lordship had asked it of them, when they could only do so standing at the north end, with no Priestly Vestment—with a Surplice only, not even a Stole. Some will say, "Well, but surely the Consecration of the Sacrament is valid, even so." Yes, my Lord. Just as a subject needs only personal soundness to serve truly and loyally his Sovereign; but would be thought hardly respectful if he therefore went in dressing-gown and slippers, instead of Court attire, to the Levee.

In this dilemma the kind offer of Mr. Dale—a kindness which I hope will never be forgotten, either by St. Alban's people or by Catholics at large in the Church of England, and for which it has been my privilege to return him, in their name, hearty thanks—enabled them to direct the people to a Church in which the Sacrament was to be found ministered in a manner which did not shock their religious sensibilities, or in any way compromise your Lordship. Accordingly the congregation went to St. Vedast's, and by the request of Mr. Dale (partly in order to facilitate the addition of a Celebration for the better accommodation of our people), two of our clergy officiated, strictly accord-

ing to the usages of that Church. Your Lordship was aware of the fact that they had thus taken part in the St. Vedast's services, on Monday morning, and, on the same day, of the fact that they would again take part in them on St. Peter's Day. You did not, however, express any disapproval of their doing so, or any wish that they should not do so; you did not see Mr. Stanton about it, or write to him asking him to desist, till on Saturday, after mid-day, when all the arrangements for Sunday had necessarily been made, a *quasi*-formal letter came from your Lordship directing them not to officiate there, and that in terms which practically—as I have said—extended the direction to a prohibition, during my absence, from officiating in any Church in the Diocese. Was this dealing fairly with either Church?

Allow me, my Lord, to put a case. Some very eminent lawyers have thought that the Vestments are not only legal, but obligatory. Suppose that the Judges in the Purchas Case had taken that view, and that the decision had been forced upon some congregation, which could not conscientiously receive Communion where the Vestments were worn. They take refuge in a neighbouring Church, in which the Judgment has not been as yet enforced, and where their Clergy are invited to assist. How would your Lordship have dealt with such a case? I venture to think that, whatever might have been your line of conduct, you would have thought it very hard that the persecuted Clergy and Congregation should be further molested. It is especially hard, then, that the "pound of flesh," to say nothing of the blood of souls and sundry additional ounces of flesh thrown in, should be

exacted of us. The Primate does not obey the Judgment; the Archbishop who drove it through the Court does not obey it; scarcely any Bishops give the least heed to its decrees in their own acts; and it is at least very difficult to find a Church in which some kind of Stole or Scarf is not worn, although just as illegal, according to the Judgment, as a Chasuble. Yet are we driven to bay in this manner.

I must not conclude this part of my letter without expressing my deep sense of gratitude to my Brother Clergy, and even more to our most staunch and brave Churchwardens and Laity in this Parish (but especially to Mr. Stanton), for the manner in which they have acted in my absence. I have indeed to be very thankful for the hearty support of my Churchwardens through the whole of the years of persecution, but more than ever now, because the effort is so much greater. The circumstances have been very difficult, and had it not been for the energy and zeal, combined with the wise and careful thought, and the self-restraint exhibited by all, I should find my return to my Office a far more difficult matter than it is. Furthermore, the grand and perfectly independent action of the working-men has been a great strength. It has been entirely their own work in its origin and in its conduct, and sets, I venture to think, a notable example to English working-men in general. I am glad of this one bright spot in a very painful letter. All are telling me how, by the blessing of God on the prudence and fortitude of their Clergy, and this responsive energy of the Laity, a deeper bond of union than ever has been

formed amongst the Members of the Parish and Congregation.

I conclude with three further points of remonstrance.

1. Why have I been singled out of the whole Diocese during these eight years, as an object of persecution? I was almost the only Priest who, after a consultation amongst ourselves, made certain alterations in the details of Divine Service, before actual persecution began. I have honestly and exactly obeyed each successive Monition, and have been kept in an almost unceasing warfare the whole eight years. I was, much against my own will, placed in this church, the very grandeur of which called for a corresponding dignity in the conduct of the services. I was avowedly a man of extreme views as to Ritual, and of deep convictions as to the essential connection between a sound faith and the Ritual expression of it. I refused to think of accepting the charge of this Parish unless I could do so unconditionally, without any sort of agreement to be guided by the wishes of the Founder as to the management of its Church or its Services, beyond a general desire to consider those wishes, so far as my duty to God, to His Church, and to my people should allow. I thus deferred for ten months my being nominated to it; during the whole of which time and ever since I have stood firm to this resolution. My nomination was intimated to the Bishop by a letter, in which the Patron said of me, "He knows that it is my desire that the work at St. Alban's should be carried out with hearty allegiance to the Church of England—neglecting none of the means of edification which

she supplies either in Doctrine or Ritual, but using the large liberty which she allows with loyalty and discretion." It has been for the loyal use of this liberty that I and my people have been persecuted for eight years. I was presented at the outset by the Founder with Alb, Girdle, Stole, and Chasuble; the latter, no doubt, of linen, but, I believe, the only Chasuble then worn in the Diocese. St. Alban's has never, since I gave up wearing that linen Chasuble, been in the front of those Churches called Ritualistic. We clergy had other matters before our minds—the conversion of sinners, the gathering in of the thoughtless, the edification of the faithful, and the glory of God, to which Ritual was only a means. By God's blessing we have succeeded in these things: our Ritual has done its work. Is it *therefore* that we are prosecuted? If so, surely we might have hoped that our Bishop would not have been on the side of the persecutors. It is remarkable that till within the last few days the persecutions in this Diocese have been directed against us only. Why? What is the private spite against us that has made us the continual butt for Protestant bullets? We have not done anything to injure anyone. We and our Congregation are one, and have throughout been one. The Parish does not distrust us. If it did, there would be no need to seek a non-parishioner to head the persecution, and to pay spies to furnish information. Our Schools are so full, although they were only built last year to give us more room, that we shall be obliged to send away from the Boys' School a considerable percentage of the less regular, to keep our average within the Government limit. These children are

mostly Parishioners, so that this does not look like mistrust. We are said to alienate as many as we draw; but where are they? It must be remembered that we came to a new Church, without a congregation, so that we could not alienate those in possession. We may have failed to attract some, but we have filled the Church and that mostly with parishioners. What could we do more? Then again, the non-parishioners who come must have been repelled from somewhere. No one asks whence;—but whence can it be, except from the empty Church-Association Churches round us?

This last St. Alban's persecution is avowed by the organs of the persecuting party to have been instituted simply to enable them to obtain the services of a particular Counsel, when two other suits, raising nearly the same points, were already before the Courts. Surely I might have expected that your Lordship's authority would have been exerted to prevent this fresh attack until the other cases were decided.

2. Why have the Bishops broken faith with us in regard of our Ordination vows? When we were ordained, we accepted as the Church's standard that which this "Church and Realm" hath received; and we have still in divers places in our Prayer Books very clear statements of the relative positions of Church and State. Now we are told by our Archbishops and Bishops that it is the "Queen's Prerogative" to define how the Sacraments are to be administered; to whom they may or may not be administered; and what doctrine may or may not be taught in our pulpits. What would be thought of the Directors of any Limited Liability Company

who kept such bad faith with the shareholders in temporal things, as in spiritual things the Bishops of Christ's Church are keeping with His people?

3. Why have the Bishops consistently, for at least forty years, done all that they could to alienate the only section of the Church that cares one straw for their sacred office? Why does each Bishop as he attains that high position—whatever may have been his convictions before—turn round upon those who might have expected him to carry to the Episcopate some idea of their minds, motives, and intentions, and show himself, almost invariably, as unstatesmanlike and unsympathetic as those who went before him? Is it wise, my Lord, in a time when Disestablishment, if it be not upon us to-day, is certainly not far off, for the highest order of the Ministry to repel so determinedly the only Members, either of the Clergy or Laity, who will retain any respect for their office when it is no longer gilded with a Peerage? We may learn from the action of the Disestablished Church in Ireland with what scant courtesy a Puritan majority is likely to treat its Bishops. Do your Lordships wish to be equally destitute of a body of Priests in the Second Order, ready to support you? We, Catholics, know that what is under the gilding is far more precious than the gilding; but we know it only by virtue of those principles for which we are persecuted. If the great Sacrament of the Altar is no more than the Church Association would have it to be, the lesser Sacrament of Orders, and with it the Episcopate, is certainly less than nothing.

I have made my remonstrance. If I have

put things strongly it has not been out of disrespect for your Lordship, or for that office, which, in spite of the Privy Council, I still believe to be sacred. We are indignant—most deeply indignant—but our indignation is against the things done, and not against your Lordship, who has indeed been the agent, but whom we would gladly exonerate from the blame of those things. If in anything this indignation has expressed itself too boldly, I can only crave the indulgence due to those who smart under the sorest injustice to which earnest-minded men can be exposed.

Believe me,

My dear Lord Bishop,

Yours most respectfully,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

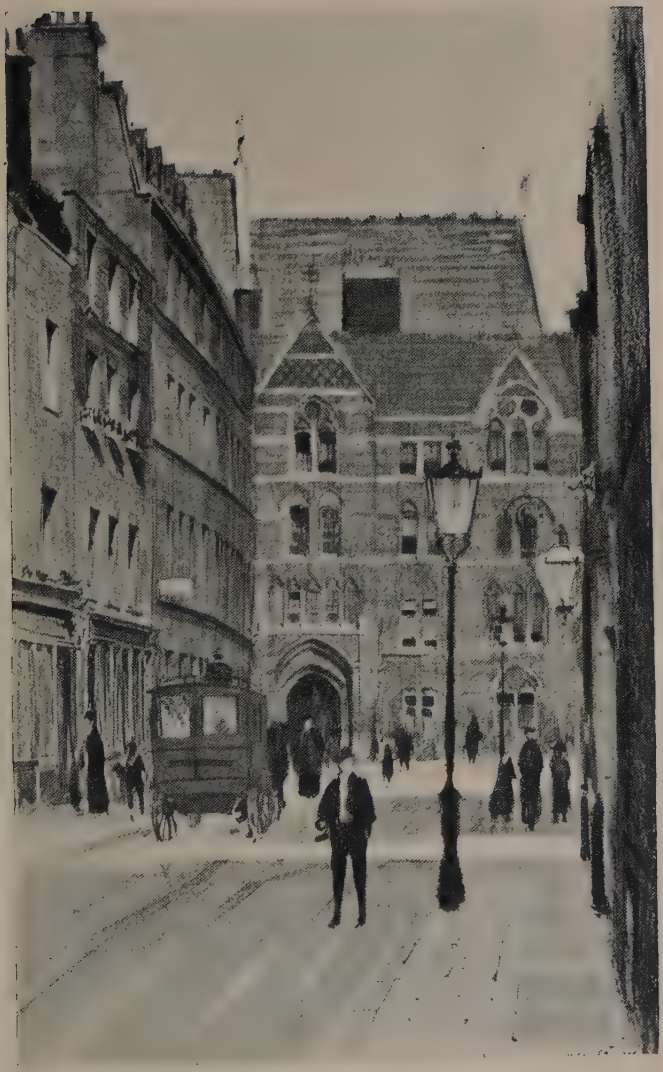
*July* 23, 1875.

# CHAPTER VIII

## A LULL IN THE STORM

"The thunder was still muttering like a baffled enemy in the distance, but the wind, after its late fury, was sobbing gently and fitfully like a repentant child."—F. W. FARRAR.

THE Public Worship Regulation Act came into operation on the 1st of July 1875. On Sunday the 8th of August the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was resumed at St. Alban's, with the modified ceremonial proper to a *Missa Cantata*. As regards the Parish there was for the moment a lull in the storm; but there were ominous sounds in the distance, and the weather was distinctly unsettled. It was not to be supposed that the two Archbishops who had engineered the P. W. R. Act would allow it to lie idle; and, even if they had been so minded, the forces of belligerent Puritanism would have kept them up to the mark. But this was not all. They were mindful of the fact that, in times past, persecuted priests had (as Mackonochie did) submitted themselves to the Court of Arches in the deluded belief that it was truly a spiritual tribunal; and they sought to beguile the simple by making them believe that its spiritual character was transferred to the new Court. The Act provided that, upon the avoidance of the Judgeships of the Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York, the Judge of the new Court, created



THE CLERGY HOUSE, BROOKE STREET

*From a drawing by* W. WALCOT

by the P. W. R. Act, should succeed to both offices, and should exercise all jurisdiction thereto attached; and that, as regards the Province of Canterbury, proceedings taken in this Court should be "deemed to be taken in the Court of Arches." Archbishop Tait always spoke of his new Court as though it were the old Court of Arches; and, from the time when Sir Robert Phillimore resigned the office of Dean of Arches, Lord Penzance claimed that title. This claim was disallowed by the Lord Chief Justice and two of his colleagues in the Queen's Bench; and it appears that, in Dr. Littledale's words, Lord Penzance "was merely the Secular Judge of a Secular Court for the trial of spiritual causes"—a sufficiently anomalous position.

However, the persecuting party were quite satisfied with their Court, from which they expected the most satisfactory results; and they now went merrily to work. They attacked in turn the Rev. C. J. Ridsdale, Vicar of St. Peter's, Folkestone; the Rev. Arthur Tooth, Vicar of St. James's, Hatcham; the Rev. Charles Bodington, Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wolverhampton; the Rev. C. H. V. Pixell, Incumbent of Christ Church, Wolverhampton; the Rev. C. F. Lowder, Vicar of St. Peter's, London Docks; the Rev. R. W. Enraght, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley; the Rev. T. P. Dale, Rector of St. Vedast's; the Rev. John Edwards, Vicar of Prestbury; the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, Rector of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate; the Rev. T. T. Carter, Rector of Clewer; the Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting; and the Rev. J. B. Cox, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Liverpool.

Even their enemies being judges, these priests were men of exemplary character, and devoted to their sacred duties. Yet some of them were cast into prison; some were condemned in ruinous costs; some escaped through technical flaws in the proceedings; some, through the Veto which the P. W. R. Act entrusted to the Bishops.[1]

To this long list, many more names might be added. Before the P. W. R. Act was four years old, the Church Association alone had initiated proceedings in seventeen cases; and there were other persecutors. It would be out of place to give the details of all these trials; but something must be said about the Ridsdale Case, because it was the first which arose under the P. W. R. Act, and had an important bearing on others which followed. "As this," wrote Archbishop Tait, "is the first case under the Act, the greatest care must of course be taken." In August 1875, complaints were lodged against Mr. Ridsdale's mode of conducting Divine Service, and the Archbishop, as Diocesan, let the case go forward to the new Court. On the 3rd of February 1876, Lord Penzance decided against Mr. Ridsdale on all the points at issue. Mr. Ridsdale appealed to the Judicial Committee on the question of Vestments, Wafer-bread, the eastward position, and a Crucifix on the rood-screen. Unusual importance was attached to this proceeding. The P. W. R. Act had not indeed

[1] It is only fair to say that Archbishop Tait vetoed the proceedings against Mr. Bodington, Mr. Pixell, and Mr. Lowder. These cases came before him because the Bishop of the Diocese, being in each case Patron of the living, was precluded from acting. The proceedings against Canon Carter were vetoed by Bishop Mackarness, and other suits by other Bishops.

altered the substance of the law. But the Court from which the appeal came was new, and, as Mr. Purchas had declined to appear either personally or by counsel, his case had never been argued, though a hostile Judgment had been delivered. It was therefore determined to hear the Ridsdale Case on its merits, and a tribunal of imposing strength assembled for the purpose. There were ten lay Judges, and five clerical Assessors. Judgment was delivered by Lord Chancellor Cairns on the 12th of May 1877. As regards the position at the Altar, the Celebrant was left free to face the east or to face the south, provided that his Manual Acts could be seen by the people. The use of wheaten bread was enjoined, but it had not been proved that Mr. Ridsdale used any other; so on these two points Judgment went in his favour. The Crucifix was disallowed, and on the question of Vestments he was condemned. "It was a strong, and in England an almost unknown, thing to condemn an accused person when he had on his side the words of a rubric which was part of an Act of Parliament." In the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council there is a rule (which obtains in no other Court) that, if the members disagree, the minority are precluded from stating their dissent, and the report to the Sovereign is made to appear unanimous. In this case the rule was disregarded. The Lord Chief Baron (Sir Fitzroy Kelly) stated that Lord Justice Amphlett, Sir Robert Phillimore, and himself dissented from the majority of their colleagues on this question of the Vestments. "It was," he said, "a Judgment of policy, and not of law." These words of the Lord Chief Baron were

uttered in private conversation, but soon found their way into print, and never were repudiated.

Even more emphatic was the language of Lord Justice Amphlett. "After regretting the Chief Baron's indiscretion in talking about such matters to a stray clergyman, he said, 'He was right, however.' He added with an emphasis I can never forget, 'It was a flagitious Judgment.' The Lord Justice was a cautious man, who habitually weighed his words."[1]

The next step in the proceedings was rather curious. Mr. Ridsdale, having willingly undergone all this worry and expense, now asked Archbishop Tait to dispense him from his obligation to obey the Ornaments Rubric. This of course the Archbishop gladly consented to do; and when (being temporarily in charge of the Diocese of Rochester) he had to deal with Mr. Tooth, he wrote in his diary, "I fear I shall not find him so amenable to authority as Mr. Ridsdale."

This apprehension was justified by the event. Mr. Tooth was made of sterner stuff, and went to prison with resolute composure. Dr. Liddon wrote: "Mr. Tooth's sick face, in that cage in the court of the gaol, quite haunts me;" and, on a later occasion: "I feel half ashamed of myself for going off for a time while Mr. Green is shut up in Lancaster Castle." Dean Church remarked that Dignitaries were allowed to "make open questions of the Personality of God, and the fact of the Resurrection, and the promise of Immortality," while Mr. Cox was sent to prison "for having lighted candles, and mixing water with the wine."

[1] Herbert Paul, *A History of Modern England*, vol. iv. p. 352.

Such were some of the incidents of "the Victorian Persecution," as it was called in the polemical literature of the time; but for a while the storm spared St. Alban's.

Yet St. Alban's was not free from trouble of its own. Theodore Talbot—the "young man of great possessions" who during the Mission of 1869 heard the Master's call, and followed it—took, as we have seen, a prominent part in the agitation of 1875. When peace was restored, he left London for his home in Wales, where, to his activities as a servant of the Church, he added those of a fox-hunter and Master of Hounds. Early in the hunting season of 1875 he had a serious fall, pitching heavily on his head and chest, breaking his collar-bone, and probably doing himself some internal injury which was not diagnosed at the time. He gradually recovered, and, at the very end of the season, he obtained his doctor's leave for one more day's hunting. This was his last day of active life. In jumping a small ditch he seems to have received a slight concussion of the spine, though he did not fall. For some weeks he lay on a sofa, hoping against hope, but making no real improvement. At intervals he suffered very great pain, but he would brace himself to meet the paroxysms, by God's grace, with a resignation and fortitude all his own. At the end of May he was removed to London, and taken to his father's house in Cavendish Square. As he lay on his sofa at the window, and watched the passers-by, he would sometimes say: "When I see them pass, I am tempted to wish to live, if only as one of them; but God's Will is best, isn't it?"

During his last illness he repeatedly received the Holy Communion, and always with the greatest faith and fervour. "Every preparation in his sick-room that might honour the advent of the Blessed Sacrament was scrupulously attended to. His devotion to the Sacrament of the Altar was supreme. He revelled in the thought of all the honour that was done to that Mystery; and the last Corpus Christi Day of his life, when he lay waiting for death, he made the clergyman who attended him promise that no Catholic rite should be omitted in his last agony. As an English Churchman he believed he could live as a Catholic, and he wished to die as one."

On the 17th of June 1876, Mr. Stanton wrote to a friend, "Dear Theodore Talbot is, I fear, dying. Pray for him as such. No words of mine can describe this heart-breaking calamity. He is simply at peace with God."

The day before his death was St. Alban's Day, and his heart was at St. Alban's Church. "I have been thinking," he said, "about all you will have done. Give my love to the dear Priests, and wish them all happiness and prosperity at St. Alban's." This was the message sent by the dying man, whose own happiness never dimmed as the loss of all earthly joy became imminent; whose faith and love flamed up, as life was flickering in the socket. In the early morning of June 18, he fell asleep in the Lord, his last words being "Let God's Will be done in me." He died in the Everlasting Arms. His life had been hid with Christ in God, and death was swallowed up in victory.

In his Annual Address to the Parish on St. Alban's Day 1876, Mackonochie wrote as follows:

"It is two years since we kept our Dedication, the events of last year making it an impossibility. But yet the troubles of that time are matters for additional thankfulness now. Out of them has come great good, both to ourselves and to the Church at large. It will be well to impress this deeply upon our own hearts, to increase thereby our gratitude to God for the past, and our confidence in Him for the future.

"In the first place stands the debt which we all owe to Mr. Stanton, Mr. Russell, and the other Clergy whom I left in charge, together with the Churchwardens and Committee of the Congregation, for the courage and wisdom with which they met the difficulties. Had it not been for this, we might have suffered a very serious defeat, such as to have embarrassed very greatly others as well as ourselves; whereas, we have to be very thankful for a great success. Then, besides this, the usual effect of community in danger and suffering has been granted to us in an uncommon degree, in the closer cementing of the bonds of our union with one another and with our Lord. We feel that we know one another better, and can trust one another more, for the union produced by those six weeks of reverse. If it were only for those weekly journeys to St. Vedast's for the Sunday Mass, the time will be ever memorable in the history both of St. Alban's and of the Catholic Movement. Nothing could have better burned into our hearts the great truth of 'THE BREAKING

OF THE BREAD' as the great central act of a Catholic's life, than those journeys; and what has burnt this into our hearts, has also sent out its sound into all lands."

It is not surprising that Mackonochie's experiences as Incumbent of St. Alban's, and in the Courts of Law, should have directed his attention rather forcibly to the question of the relations between Church and State. As long ago as 1856, when Archdeacon Denison was condemned for teaching the Real Objective Presence, Gladstone said: "It is pretty plain that not only with executive authorities, but in the sacred halls of Justice, there are now two measures, and not one, in use—the strait one for those supposed to err in believing overmuch, and the other for those who believe too little." If this was true about prosecutions touching Belief, it was certainly not less true about those which touched Ritual, and Mackonochie had occasion to feel the full force of it. By nature and training, and in general politics, he was a Tory; but when Toryism insisted on the subjection of the Church to the State, he parted company with his political allies.

In his Annual Address to the Parish, on St. Alban's Day 1871, he wrote, with reference to his first Suspension:

"As a beneficed Minister of the Establishment—an office from which I hope God will soon set me free, by dissolving that most sinful union of Church and State—*i.e.* of Christ and the World—I am not only Christ's Priest to your souls, but also the Queen's Servant, having certain things to

do in a particular building, which, though it belongs to God and not to the Queen, yet she claims to have under her power. You must remember that although, in strictly spiritual things, the Queen has less authority over me than you, my dear Children in Christ, have; yet in the temporal accidents of spiritual things, such as gold, silver, brick, stone, and mortar, she has some definite jurisdiction. . . . So I fell back upon those positions which I hold of a purely spiritual character, wholly exempt from any rights of Civil Courts, and in them fulfilled my duty to God; while, within the brick walls of St. Alban's, the dominion of which is usurped in the name of the Queen, I continued silent."

Such was his language in a season of storm and stress; and now, in an interval of calm weather, he did not change his view. Indeed, the events of the intervening six years had only strengthened his conviction.

This conviction found utterance in a paper on "Disestablishment and Disendowment" which, in June 1877, he contributed by the Editor's request, to the newly started *Nineteenth Century*. It is significant of the position which he had now come to occupy in the public eye, that among other writers in the same number were such men as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Cardinal Manning, Tennyson, Froude, James Spedding, Edward Dicey, and Frederic Harrison.

In this paper, Mackonochie set forth, with characteristic clearness and precision, his view of a great controversy.

"It is," he said in his opening sentence, "with a

feeling akin to sacrilege that the pen is taken up against the institutions of old times; which have weathered many storms, and still hold up their heads, claiming to have made good their rights by the very remoteness of their origin."

But this consideration did not long deter him from unflinching speech. "No one can doubt that the whole state of things as regards the relation of the Church to the State, and of the State to the Church, has altered entirely since Constantine first declared himself the patron of the hitherto despised Church of Christ, and ever since St. Augustine first planted his Mission to the English at Sandwich. Is there anything in those changes to show that what was good for past generations is bad now? Or is there even anything to lead to the conclusion that from the first the 'Establishment' and 'Endowment' of the Christian religion were a mistake?"

After carefully defining his terms, he went on to examine the practical working of Establishment, and found it wholly bad.

Remote history and recent events supplied him with abundant illustration, and he decided, with trenchant clearness, that, in the interests of spiritual religion, Establishment ought to perish. But he did not stop here. "Our demand for Disestablishment must be a demand, at least as earnest, for Disendowment. It will not do, in an age of realities such as this is, to claim liberty, and yet keep the fetters which have made us slaves. The simplest can see through such a demand. It carries on the face of it that, however honest and self-sacrificing the man may really be who urges it, he has not yet

weighed the meaning of his claim. Even the ornaments of the Egyptians, which God Himself had ordered the Hebrews to take from their neighbours, became their Golden Calf; how much more our Endowments, if we, not by God's Command but by our own choice, tempted by the wedge of gold and the Babylonish garment, cling to the accursed thing!"[1]

It will be readily believed by those who know the even painful devotion of English Churchmen to the principle of Establishment that this remarkable utterance drew down upon its writer a shower of criticism. It is true that there was a knot of young and eager devotees (among whom the assistant clergy of St. Alban's were numbered), who had always shared Mackonochie's convictions on this profoundly important question, and who now banded themselves together in a "Church League for promoting the separation of Church and State." Archdeacon Denison, who, though not young, was eager, joined it; but the great mass of steady-going and "respectable" Churchmen, whether High or Low, stood stolidly aloof. In 1865, Gladstone wrote: "The Church of England is much more likely, of the two, to part with her faith than with her funds. It is the old question—Which is the greater, the *gold*, or the altar that sanctifies the gold? Had this question been more boldly asked, or more truly answered, in other times, we should not have been where we now are. And by continually looking to the gold and not the altar, the dangers of the future will be not diminished but increased." If Mackonochie could have known those words, he

[1] The paper covers twenty pages of the *Nineteenth Century*.

would have felt the truth of them in June 1877. Among those whom his utterances gravely perturbed was Mr. Hubbard, who never ceased to take a fatherly interest in all that concerned the fortunes of St. Alban's. On the 14th of June he wrote to Mackonochie, citing various phrases from the paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, and adding:

"I beg very anxiously to inquire whether these expressions represent your deliberate opinions; or, if not, would you point out either the quotations which you reject, or, if more convenient, those which you affirm. The opinions which seem to be expressed in these quotations differ widely from those which I believed you to entertain when I offered you the charge of the Church and District of St. Alban, and they are to my mind irreconcilable with the disposition faithfully and efficiently to discharge the duties of a parochial clergyman of the Church of England."

Mackonochie's reply was prompt and to the point.

*June* 15, 1877.

My dear Mr. Hubbard,—"What I have written, I have written." Even if a man were wont to scatter abroad rash sayings on grave subjects, he would hardly do so in a paper so widely exposed to intelligent criticism as an article in the *Nineteenth Century*.

The question whether my convictions are, or are not, consistent with my position as a Parish Priest in the Church of England is a matter for the decision of my own conscience, not another man's. It will be in your recollection that, when you sought me out to take charge of this Parish, you did not

find me ready to accept it on *condition that my views were always to coincide with yours*, but, on the contrary, when it seemed to me—as it ultimately proved *needlessly*—that you wished me to accept the post on such terms, I firmly and consistently refused to have anything to say to it, till it was made quite clear that nothing of the kind was required. If I am wrong in the view I have taken, I am quite open to be convinced; and the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* are at the disposal of anyone (as I know from the Editor's remarks to myself) who should wish to insert an article from an opposite side of the same question.

I am very sorry indeed, as I have always been, that anything which it becomes my duty to do, either for the Parish or for the Church at large, does not meet with your approbation: but I cannot give up the responsibility of acting to the best of my power upon the dictates of God in my own conscience. Believe me, my dear Mr. Hubbard, —Yours very truly,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

At this point it may be conveniently mentioned that in the following year Mackonochie published another paper in the *Nineteenth Century* on the "Separation of Church and State." The fundamental position assumed throughout the paper was that the Christ-power and the World-power are now and always in inevitable conflict, so that any attempt at conciliating them with one another must be both unscriptural and useless. The writer stated with force and cogency the practical evils which, in his opinion, arose from the attempt to reconcile these

irreconcileables, and he appended to the paper a draft-Act "to carry into effect the Separation of Church and State in England and Wales." The Act was to take effect on "The First Day of January 1881." The preamble is worth quoting:

"Whereas in former times the Religion of the Land of England and Wales was one and the same in all places and among all people; and whereas in those times, and since then up to the time present, many as well private persons as Kings, Princes, and Parliaments have granted to the Church of England many social and political privileges, much land, and many payments in money, as well of tithes as of other emoluments; and whereas more recently, and especially since the Reign of King Henry VIII, great difference of Religious opinions has arisen, and has caused numerous divisions and separations from the said Church of England; and whereas many of Her Majesty's Subjects are aggrieved at the preference granted to one form of Religion over all the others; and whereas, moreover, great differences of opinion have arisen of late years within the said Church of England, the settlement of which differences, and the restoration of unity and peace, is hindered by the union of Church and State as at present existing:

"It is therefore expedient that the said union of Church and State, whether created by Acts of Parliament, or arising out of ancient and immemorial usage, should be dissolved."

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In his Annual Address to the Parish on St Alban's Day 1877, Mackonochie said:

"We reach another St. Alban's Day in peace—a peace which has been granted to us by our dear Lord for nearly two years. During this time the Holy Eucharist has indeed been shorn of its due and reverent Ceremonial; but in the most essential points we have preserved our liberty. Ceremonial, purely by itself, is an infinitely small thing; but, looked upon as the Divinely-chosen form of worship, in which sense Holy Scripture of both Testaments witness to it, it is great. In this latter sense God has taught us to value it, and therefore the loss to us is no mere deprivation of an æsthetic adjunct to Divine Worship, but the taking away of that which belongs to the honour and dignity, although not to the essence, of the Church's Service, which she offers to her Head in Heaven. Its absence, therefore, has been a severe trial to many of yourselves, as well as to us your Clergy. Still, I do not think you have any of you regretted the trust you so kindly placed in me at our meeting in the summer of 1875.[1] Some faint murmurs at the privation have indeed reached me, but only such as might most fitly be spoken to the appointed Pastor of the Lord's work in this parish. The day may yet come for a restoration of what has been lost."

[1] See p. 151.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE RETURN OF THE STORM

"The clouds return, after the rain."—ECCLESIASTES.

A CLOUD, no bigger than a man's hand, now made its appearance on the horizon. The hand was, of course, a Bishop's. On the 27th of June 1877, the Bishop of London wrote to Mackonochie, informing him that the Archdeacon reported that a crucifix and a picture of the Blessed Virgin had been placed in the Church without a Faculty; and the Bishop hinted, not obscurely, at legal proceedings; but the Clergy were able to prove that both these objects had been in the church when last the Archdeacon[1] visited and approved it; so this small worry came to nought. But it was one of those clouds which, as Ecclesiastes says, return after the rain, and when one hopes that fair weather has set in. The two years' lull in the storm was over.

On the 23rd of March 1878, an application was made to Lord Penzance, as Judge of the new Court, to enforce on Mackonochie obedience to the Judgment concerning Ritual acts, which Sir Robert Phillimore had pronounced in 1875. Lord Penzance said that, as in three years no attempt had been made by the complainants to get the Judgment enforced, he would not then pronounce

[1] P. C. Claughton, sometime Bishop of Colombo.

a fresh sentence, but would give Mackonochie the opportunity of conforming his practice to the decision of 1875, on the understanding that he would incur a severe sentence if he refused to comply. The application was renewed on the 1st of June 1878, and Mackonochie was suspended for three years.

In his Annual Address for 1878 Mackonochie made a significant reference to this renewal of persecution.

"The causes for gratitude with which we have year by year approached the throne of God on St. Alban's Day, are, to say the least, unabated. We have not been without trial, both in our own weaknesses and sins, and in external difficulties—and this is one ground of thankfulness and hope. . . . If the Cross were absent from us, we should fear that God had forsaken us, while, on the other hand, if our life were all Cross, our faith might be so sorely tried as even to give way under the strain. But the goodness of God still guides us, and keeps us by His Providence both from the sloth and carelessness which are bred of prosperity, and the despair which may spring out of human infirmity in times of over-severe hardness."

The next step in the legal proceedings was that Mackonochie applied to the Queen's Bench for a Writ of Prohibition against Lord Penzance, to prevent him from enforcing this sentence of Suspension. This Writ was granted, on the ground that there should have been a fresh trial before the issue of a fresh sentence. The persecuting party appealed from the Queen's Bench to the Court of Appeal, which by a majority of one pronounced

in favour of Lord Penzance. Mackonochie did not at this stage appeal to the House of Lords, so on the 15th of November 1879 Lord Penzance again pronounced the sentence of Suspension for three years, to take effect upon Sunday the 23rd of November. Two days before that date, Mackonochie wrote to a friend: "We do not anticipate any row next Sunday, although of course there may be one. The Bishop and I have, through his Secretary, made an amicable arrangement."

When the day arrived, an official of the P. W. R. Court appeared at St. Alban's Clergy House, tendered to Mackonochie the sentence of Suspension, and then nailed the document to the north door. It set forth that the "Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie, for various offences against the Laws Spiritual, was suspended from ministering the Sacraments and preaching the Word, for a term of three years, and further until he had recanted his errors." The Churchwarden and Sidesmen, "as trustees for the parishioners in respect of all uses of the Church," made a formal protest against this use, or abuse, of the Church-door, and the official departed.

Shortly before ten, the Bishop's Legal Secretary, Mr. Lee, and his Domestic Chaplain, the Rev. W. M. Sinclair,[1] arrived at the Clergy House. When they had stated the object of their visit, they were invited into the Vestry, where they found the Vicar, with the Churchwardens and Sidesmen. Mr. Lee stated that the Bishop, having received notice of Mackonochie's Suspension, found it his duty to provide for the due conduct of the services, and

[1] Afterwards Archdeacon of London.

had licensed Mr. Sinclair as Curate in Charge of the parish till other arrangements could be made. The license having been read, Mackonochie made a solemn and dignified reply, of which a portion is here given.

"I regard, as in duty bound, with very great deference and respect the document from his Lordship the Bishop of the Diocese which has just been read to me. Notwithstanding this, however, it is my duty to God to refuse to recognise you, or any other priest not sanctioned by me, to supersede me, even for a time, in the cure of souls in this parish. The charge of souls in this parish was duly and canonically committed to me by his Lordship's predecessor on the 3rd day of January 1863. It is a charge, as so given to me by the Bishop, of a purely spiritual character, conferred by him, not in his private capacity, or as a State Officer, but as the successor of the Apostles, and, through them, of CHRIST our Lord, Who was Himself sent by GOD the Father in the power of the HOLY GHOST. Of the holding, using, and surrendering of this charge I must give account to the Giver at the hour of death and on the Day of Judgment. That office was given me by GOD, through the due and regular order of His Church, and what has so been given me by Him, I dare not, at the peril of my soul, give up, except to Him acting according to the same due and regular order."

When Mackonochie had concluded his reply, Mr. Sinclair said that he understood that he was not to take the service, though he had come prepared to do so. Mackonochie replied "Distinctly so," and the interview, which had been most

courteously conducted, came to an end. Mattins soon followed, and then the Celebration—a *Missa Cantata*—with an overflowing congregation. Mackonochie was Celebrant. Mr. Stanton preached from the text, "He giveth snow like wool." Everyone was listening with breathless eagerness for some allusion to the recent proceedings, when the preacher began his sermon, thus: "There is one subject which has been the topic of the week. It has been the topic of conversation of nearly everyone throughout the length and breadth of the land, and that subject is—the weather."

On the afternoon of this eventful day, Mackonochie wrote as follows to a friend:

"You will, I suppose, have heard that all went off well. The Notice was served by my poor old friend the officer of the Court, who seemed much the worse for the fog, but declined breakfast. The document was put on the door, but torn down by unknown hands (if not unseen). The Bishop's Chaplain and Secretary did their duty, and I (to the best of my power) did mine. The church was crowded—women almost crowded out by the men. Everything perfectly orderly; two Nonconformist Ministers of eminence quite delighted. A few enemies, but perfect order. One so far forgot himself as to genuflect at the *Incarnatus*. Father Stanton preached from Psalm cxlvii., on (as he announced) the absorbing subject of the week—the weather. The evening has yet to come, but I suppose will be quiet. About four hundred members of the C.E.W.M.S. were in church, but nobody, I believe, knew that they were more than ordinary church-goers."

Among the "few enemies" mentioned above were, as it subsequently appeared, "Mr. W. G. Bunn of Hammersmith," and "Mr. F. E. Jones of Maida Vale."

The much-harassed Vicar of St. Alban's was allowed to spend his Christmas in peace; but in January 1880 Mr. Martin renewed his activities. The Bishop of London again granted Letters of Request, and on the 16th of April a fresh suit was opened in the P. W. R. Court, having for its object to deprive Mackonochie of his benefice, as a penalty for his "contumacy and contempt, and incorrigibleness and obstinate disobedience to his Ordinary." Bunn of Hammersmith, and Jones of Maida Vale, gave the necessary evidence as to what Mackonochie had done when celebrating on the 23rd and 30th of November; but on the 5th of June Lord Penzance refused to pass the sentence of Deprivation, hinting, not obscurely, that Mr. Martin's right course would have been to delate Mackonochie for his disobedience, with a view to getting him imprisoned. On the 14th of June Mr. Martin, who had retired from the suit, publicly stated that he would be no party to a policy of imprisonment, and that his one object, from first to last, had been to get the law declared. Meanwhile Mackonochie, who, as a friendly critic said, "had a genius for litigation," appealed from the decision of the Court of Appeal to the House of Lords, which on the 7th of April 1881 dismissed the Appeal, and affirmed the three years' Suspension pronounced in 1878.

At the same time the Church Association appealed against Lord Penzance's refusal to pronounce Deprivation, and the Judicial Committee, on the

22nd of February 1882, decided against Lord Penzance, and remitted the case to him for punishment. The storm which had been gathering ever since the end of 1877 was now ready to burst.

As a slight refreshment in the midst of these anxieties, Mackonochie was on the 2nd of March 1882 examined before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, which had been appointed at the instance of Archbishop Tait. The Commission could scarcely have found a witness whose acquaintance with the subject was more intimate than that possessed by the Vicar of St. Alban's. In writing to his brother, he gave an amusing account of his examination. "As a remedy short of Disestablishment, I gave free election of Bishops by the whole Episcopate, subject to a vote of either the clergy or the lay-communicants of the diocese. This, I believe, is the ancient state of things. They asked me how long I thought this lapse dated from, and I said Constantine. They thought this a long time; but I said I could not help that—it was not my doing."

In his Annual Address to the Parish for 1882, Mackonochie announced the fact that Mr. Hubbard had resigned the patronage of the benefice.

"In June last year, he worshipped for the last time as Patron in the Church which his munificence had built and endowed, and formally took leave of us, handing over all the property which he had in the Church and its surroundings to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. You will, I am sure, continue to remember him in your prayers as our Founder, although he has ceased to be our Patron."

In the course of the Address, he paid the follow-

ing tribute to a very remarkable woman who had been, for thirteen years, head of the band of Sisters working in the Parish:

"One prominent figure in all that was good and active in the Parish disappears from the midst of us this year—I mean Sister Georgina Mary. . . . Her capabilities were exceptional. Her former life and associations, as well as divinely-given gifts, adapted her most admirably, not only for women's work of ordinary or extraordinary kinds, but to carry all a woman's tact and perseverance into work which belonged rather to men, if not such as few men would care to attempt. She has been removed from us by the vote of her Community, calling her to a position more important in itself, though far less attractive to her than what she was doing here. We must thank God that she has been sent to us for a time—the time of great difficulty—and pray for His blessing upon her wherever she may be called to serve Him."[1]

On the 21st of July 1882 he wrote to a friend: "Another Suit—for deprivation and degradation—will most likely put a stop to any holiday." Meanwhile, it may be presumed that Lord Penzance, though his hands were pretty full of cases remitted to him from other dioceses, was thinking over in his mind what he should do with the incorrigible Mackonochie when he came up for judgment. The working of the P. W. R. Act had been beset by many and curious difficulties, and the proceedings in Mackonochie's case

[1] "Sister Georgina Mary," of the Community of St. John Baptist, Clewer, was Georgina Sophia Hoare, sister of Sir Henry Hoare, 5th Bart., of Stourhead. She was professed on the 30th November 1865, and died in her seventy-ninth year, on the 23rd October 1905.

were strangely delayed. He was cited to appear before the P. W. R. Court on the 29th of July; but the case was postponed till after the Vacation. Before the Courts reopened, a fresh element, as momentous as it was unexpected, was introduced into the situation.

At this point it is expedient to give some account of Archbishop Tait, who has figured so frequently in the narrative, and who was now about to play a decisive part in the history of St. Alban's. Archibald Campbell Tait was born in 1811, and educated at the University of Glasgow, and at Balliol College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow and Tutor. In 1842 he succeeded Dr. Arnold as Head Master of Rugby, and in 1849 he was made Dean of Carlisle. A tragical bereavement which there befell him—the loss of five little children through scarlet fever—attracted the sympathetic notice of Queen Victoria; and in 1856 he was recommended by Lord Palmerston for the See of London. It was from all points of view an amazing appointment.

Tait was especially and essentially a Scotsman. His intellectual habits and interests, his religious sympathies, his temperament and feelings, all were characteristic of the land from which he came. After all, blood is thicker than water, and racial affinities count for much in the social and political intercourse of mankind. This Scotsman, by the accident of his education, became established for life on English soil; but he never took root in it—never thoroughly understood the English people; never quite comprehended the beliefs of those over whom he bore rule.

But Tait was not only a Scotsman: he was

more than half a Presbyterian. He was a devout and orthodox Christian, but on those topics which distinguish Anglicanism from other systems of Reformed religion, his sympathies were rather with the Scottish Kirk than with the Church of England. He believed profoundly, even fanatically, in the principle of religious Establishment; and, as he had determined to make England his home, it followed of necessity that he should join the Established Church of England. But on all questions affecting Sacramental doctrine, the structure of the Church, and the nature of the Ministry, he remained to the end of his life what he had been in his Presbyterian youth.

While Tait was thus essentially a Presbyterian, he was not at all essentially a clergyman. "He was," as one said who knew him well, "a Whig laird, with a strong dash of the lawyer." He had, as far as one can judge, no special vocation to Holy Orders. He would have been a religious lawyer, or a religious merchant, or a religious squire, according to the circumstances in which he had been placed; but his early history gives no sign either of peculiar aptitude, or of strong desire, for the work of the Priesthood as it is understood by Churchmen, or even for any form of the clerical profession. Still, Tait was ordained as a matter of course. He was a Fellow of Balliol, and, as such, he was bound by law to take Holy Orders within a given time from his M.A. degree. He had not the least desire to do otherwise. Indeed he felt that the clerical character would help him in his tutorial work; and, when once ordained, he became an active clergyman, though his parochial

experience was of necessity confined to some odd jobs of clerical duty which he undertook during his residence as Fellow and Tutor at Balliol.

Such was the divine whom the astonished Diocese of London received as its Bishop on the retirement of Bishop Blomfield. Churchmen soon discovered, if they did not know it before, that their Diocesan's churchmanship belonged to that unpleasing variety which is called "Broad-Low." It was neither Evangelical nor Sacramental, but it had a marked affinity to latitudinarianism. His own words were: "I feel my vocation clear—greatly as I sympathize with the Evangelicals not to allow them to tyrannize over the Broad Churchmen." On the 28th of September 1862 he wrote in his diary: "Last night brought the announcement of Longley's appointment [to the See of Canterbury]. My anxiety is lest the Evangelical and Liberal sections of the Church may lose what they have gained of late years." But, when it came to dealing with the Catholic party, the case was changed. The Bishop was reported to have said: "If I am Bishop of London for ten years, I will not leave a Tractarian in the diocese"; and, though the words were probably invented, they are exactly in tune with his lifelong policy. He had been one of the "Four Tutors" at Oxford, who, in 1841, protested against Tract XC., and so began the process which drove Newman out of the English Church.

Tait's whole subsequent conduct was of a piece with that inauspicious beginning. As with doctrine, so with ritual. As Bishop of London, he had attacked Mr. Liddell of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and Mr. Stuart of St. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square, for

having Altar-lights. He revoked the license of a wretched curate for venturing to hear Confessions. At the consecration of All Saints', Margaret Street, he sent for a large white table-cloth to hide the beautiful Altar; at the consecration of St. Michael's, Shoreditch, he rated the clergy who wore coloured stoles. And all this time he was abetting Bishop Colenso, and apologizing for *Essays and Reviews*. In 1865 Newman wrote to Pusey: "The Bishop of London is tender towards freethinkers, and stern towards Romanizers. *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.* Now the Church of Rome is severe on freethinkers, and indulgent towards devotees."

Tait became Archbishop of Canterbury at the end of 1868. He appears perhaps in his most characteristic aspect at the interview with the Deputation of Working Men on the 15th of July 1875.[1] In his dealings with Ritualism from first to last, he had been, to borrow Ruskin's words, "wrong with the intense wrongness which only an honest man can achieve, who has taken a wrong turn of thought at the outset and is following it regardless of consequences." But at the beginning of the 'eighties, a curious change became apparent, and it had its origin in pathetic events.

In May 1878, the Archbishop lost his only son, a young clergyman greatly beloved, and in the following December his devoted and exemplary wife. Such afflictions could not leave a Christian just what they found him, and Tait became a sensibly gentler and less imperious man. His health, which had never been robust since a desperate

[1] See p. 146.

attack of rheumatic fever in 1848, began to decline, and it can scarcely be doubted that in moments of quiet meditation he was led to question the rightness of the ecclesiastical policy which he had so persistently pursued.

At Easter 1880 Gladstone became Prime Minister for the second time, and in the following winter the Archbishop approached him with various suggestions intended to promote the peace of the Church. Some of those suggestions were not accepted; but Gladstone promised that, if the Archbishop would himself move in the House of Lords for a Royal Commission to enquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the Government would render all the assistance in their power. The Commission was accordingly appointed, and began its work on the 28th of May 1881. The Archbishop was Chairman, and conducted the main examination of every witness. Among those witnesses, as we have seen, was Mackonochie. The present writer was told by a member of the Commission—the late Mr. Beresford-Hope—that the signs of a softened temperament were clearly visible in Tait's method of conducting the business, and that he suffered to "go by the board" a good many points which a few years before would have excited him even to vehemence. The Commission continued its sittings throughout the year 1882, but by now the Archbishop's last illness had begun, and he fully realized his own precarious condition. On the 30th of July 1882 he wrote in his diary: "So ends this Session. It must be very doubtful whether Lambeth will another year be the centre for the same

friends." On the 7th of August, he travelled with great difficulty to Osborne, in order to confirm the two sons of the Prince of Wales,[1] and, after returning to Addington Park, he took to his bed. His illness lasted, with various ups and downs, till Advent Sunday, the 3rd of December, when he passed away. From his sick bed he began a correspondence with Mackonochie, which led to important results.

We saw just now that, when the Law Courts were about to reopen after the Vacation of 1882, it seemed as if Lord Penzance must proceed to extremities. During the month of October the Archbishop received an intimation that the Sentence of Deprivation would be pronounced; and he felt himself constrained to intervene. On the 10th of November he wrote as follows:

My dear Mr. Mackonochie,—My thoughts, so far as I am able at present to give steady thought to public matters, have naturally dwelt much upon the troubles and difficulties which have made themselves apparent in connection with recent ritual prosecutions. I am exceedingly anxious that the result of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts should, by the blessing of Almighty God, be such as to allay disquiet, and, by meeting any reasonable objections to existing procedure, to set men's minds free for the pressing duties which devolve upon the Church in the face of prevailing sin and unbelief. Anything which at this moment increases bitterness of feeling may do permanent mischief to the cause which we all have at heart.

[1] Prince Albert Victor (who died in 1892), and King George V.

Anything which tends to preserve peace now will make a satisfactory solution of our difficulties far easier. I venture, therefore, privately to write to you, though I cannot yet do so with my own hand, to invite you seriously to consider whether you can in any way minimise the present feeling of bitterness which undoubtedly exists in some quarters.

I need not assure you that I do not wish in any way to dictate to you a course of action, but if you feel it possible, consistently with duty, to withdraw voluntarily by resignation of your benefice from further conflicts with the Courts, I am quite sure you would be acting in the manner best calculated to promote the real power and usefulness of the Church to which we belong. I make this appeal to you under a strong sense of responsibility. You will, I think, feel with me that the circumstances under which I write are altogether exceptional, and you will, I know, give prayerful thought to the subject. I commend you to the guidance of Almighty God, and ask that He may give to us in these difficult times a right judgment in all things.—I remain

Yours very truly,

A. C. CANTUAR.

To this letter Mackonochie at once returned the following reply:

*November* 11, 1882.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—Your kind letter of yesterday reached me last night. Your Grace will understand that in a matter of so deep importance I shall not answer definitely without that time for earnest seeking after the guidance of

Almighty God to which you refer me, although, indeed, your Grace will not doubt that I have endeavoured to gain it and to act upon it throughout the troubled circumstances of the last sixteen years. It is a great regret to me that any of my concerns should be adding to the pressure of your Grace's anxieties under the severe illness which our Lord has sent to you. Therefore my final answer shall reach your Grace with as little delay as possible. With earnest prayer for your Grace's restoration to health,—Believe me, my dear Lord Archbishop, yours truly and very respectfully,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

As in duty bound, Mackonochie took ample time to consider the proposal, and postponed his decision until he had taken counsel with his wisest and most trusted advisers. On the 23rd of November he wrote to a friend:

"The meeting which I was asked to wait for did not help much . . . it was opposed for the most part to my own convictions; and yet with me it is immensely difficult to decide. The illness of the Archbishop and the tone of his letter, as if from his grave, has certainly weighed mostly with me; which perhaps is hardly right, as even the most pressing personal considerations have to give way before the public interests of the Church. However, I suppose I have determined to comply with the Archbishop's request. It seems to be God's Will. I do believe I am quite indifferent personally. Indeed personally the line I am taking is a certain loss—not in money perhaps, but in leaving this place. . . . Whatever happens, my

leaving this will be, at first at any rate, set down as a victory for our enemies, both by friends and foes. I feel myself a little like Rehoboam, between his father's counsellors and his own, with the exception that I am following the elder counsellors and he the younger. . . . I have promised to send off my letter to the Archbishop not later than to-morrow, so that the suspense will not be much longer."

Here is the actual decision :

*Nov.* 23, 1882.

My dear Lord Archbishop,—I am sorry to have been obliged to add to your Grace's anxiety by a less speedy reply to your letter than I could have desired. The subject of your letter has, I think, rarely been out of my mind since I received it, except when at times driven out by the press of active work.

The conclusion at which I have arrived is to acquiesce in your Grace's wish that I should resign my benefice. You will understand that it is to myself and will be to my people a great sorrow, but one which I hope we shall be willing to bear, if the true peace and liberty of the Church can be obtained by my compliance.

My life hitherto, since my ordination, has had for its object the seeking of those gifts for the Church, and I am contented, if so it be, to give up my peace for this.

Your Grace will, I am sure, understand that I cannot in this matter act otherwise than with that obedience to my conscience to which you refer me, so that you will not think that I have changed my conviction as to the State Courts. I accept the

line of action which your Grace has indicated simply in deference to you as supreme representative of Our Lord Jesus Christ in all things spiritual in this land; and not as withdrawing anything I have said or done in regard to those Courts. This I cannot agree to in any way whatever.

No one can deny that the bitterness which your Grace would abate is altogether an exceptional circumstance, giving rise to exceptional remedies to avert, if it may be, by the Goodness of God, ruin from His Church; and leaving her free for the future discharge of her great mission, at home and in foreign lands. For myself I hope I may depend upon your Grace's good offices with the Bishop of London, so that I may be licensed or instituted at once to whatever work in the diocese may offer itself to me. Thanking your Grace for your commendation of me to the guidance of Almighty God, and with my own unworthy prayers for your Grace in all your sickness,—Believe me, my dear Lord Archbishop, yours truly and very respectfully,

ALEX. HERIOT MACKONOCHIE.

This announcement of Mackonochie's decision was acknowledged with touching gratitude by the dying Archbishop. On the 9th of August 1874, he had written in his diary: "Thank God, the Bill has passed. I received congratulations on all sides." That Bill became the Public Worship Regulation Act, and "it received its fatal shock from the Archbishop's deathbed."

On the 1st of December 1882 Mackonochie resigned his benefice. On the 5th of December Bishop Jackson wrote as follows:

DEAR MR. MACKONOCHIE,—I did not write to you on Saturday when I accepted your resignation, because I understood from Mr. Lee that I was about to hear from you; but having read, as you are aware, the affecting correspondence between the dying Archbishop and yourself—so honourable to both—I wish to be allowed to express my satisfaction with the conclusion at which you arrived, and my appreciation of the motives which led you to it. I can well understand the difficulties of your position, which must have been great and perplexing, and only to be met by courage of the true stamp and under a firm sense of duty. God grant that it may tend to the Church's peace! I have never ceased, I can say in all sincerity, to value your own worth or that of your work; and I venture to hope that under altered circumstances those strained relations may be relaxed which arise so readily between those whose duty it is to administer the law and those who consider themselves unable in conscience to observe it. Believe me to be

Very faithfully yours,

J. LONDON.

On Saturday evening, the 9th of December, Mackonochie assembled his flock in St. Alban's Church, and gave them a full, clear, and definite statement concerning the steps which he had taken, and the reasons for them. He read the correspondence which had passed between himself, the Archbishop, and the Bishop. He reviewed at length his connexion with the district, beginning before the church was built, and he earnestly commended

his successor to their sympathy and support. He ended thus:

"I urge St. Alban's people to stick to St. Alban's Church. It is not the priests, but the congregation, that have made St. Alban's what it is; and it is only by holding together—trying to knit themselves together more and more—that St. Alban's will become more worthy of its name than it has ever been in the past. That can only be by your sticking and holding together more and more, and by making St. Alban's the home of your life. So may it be, in the Providence of God—St. Alban's people for St. Alban's Church."

Mackonochie spent his Christmas at St. Alban's. "Probably," he wrote, "we have had a certain sense of farewell which did not at first brighten the Angels' Song. . . . Happily, we are all behaving very well, and talking at least, if not thinking, little about it."

At Evensong, on Sunday the 7th of January 1883, he preached his farewell sermon. The text was Isaiah liii. 10: "When Thou shalt make His soul an offering for sin, He shall see His seed, He shall prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hand." It was a strenuous and even passionate assertion of the necessity of sacrifice. The Cross, he said, was the sign of self-oblation. Suffering was a Christian's life. God had now sent him and his hearers something hard to bear—he did not like to call it suffering—and they must not only bear it, but they must thank God for it. Above all, he implored them not to let the change which was now impending make the slightest difference in their devotion to their church and its Altar. "If," he

said, "Almighty God has blessed my ministry in these twenty years, the only testimony which you can show for it is your adherence to this church in which you have received grace. You do not come to church to receive knowledge, or to have your ears tickled with oratory. You come to church to receive grace. And, if God has been pleased by His Holy Spirit to shed upon you grace in this Church, then return Him thanks for that grace, and show your thankfulness by still worshipping at its Altar. Otherwise, it must be said, either that the Grace of God has failed, or that all that has been done for this congregation has fallen to pieces —twenty years of work expended, and no greater result to show for it than a scattered congregation at the end of those twenty years. I hope better things of you all. You may have many temptations in many different ways; but, if you are St. Alban's people, then care for St. Alban's Altar, for that Altar which has fed many and many of you, from your first Communion, right on to this time."

When in his closing words Mackonochie implored his hearers' prayers, "remembering that the priest's place in the Church is the most dangerous of all places," a deep hush fell upon his hearers; strong men were shaken by emotion, and there was the light of tears in unaccustomed eyes.

# CHAPTER X

## CONTINUITY

"The Survivorship of a worthy man in his Son is a Pleasure scarce inferior to the Hopes of the Continuance of his own Life."—RICHARD STEELE.

THE family of Suckling was established on its lands at Woodton in the County of Suffolk before the year 1500. The head of the family is still Lord of the Manors of Barsham and Shipmeadow; and the Sucklings have intermarried with all the best blood of East Anglia. Three notable members of the family may be commemorated here: Sir John Suckling, whose dainty lyrics, full of Elizabethan grace, "left former song-writers far behind in gaiety and ease"[1]; Captain Maurice Suckling, "the professional tutor and early patron" of his nephew the great Nelson; and the Rev. Robert Alfred Suckling (1818–1851), who, having begun life in the Royal Navy, chose rather to dedicate himself to God in the sacred ministry, and was ordained in 1843. He was the first Incumbent of Bussage, in Gloucestershire, where, in 1846, a church was built by the contributions of twenty Oxford men, who had been prompted to the act by Newman in the days of his ministry at St. Mary's. Mr. Suckling's life and labours in this place made a deep and lasting impression on those who knew

[1] Henry Hallam.

him, and can be read in a delightful memoir written by Isaac Williams. He died quite unexpectedly in 1851, leaving a son, Robert Alfred John Suckling, born in 1842, who succeeded to his grandfather's estates in 1856.

This R. A. J. Suckling, whose Godfather was John Keble, having early destined himself to Holy Orders, entered St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, in the time of Liddon's Vice-Principalship. From Oxford he moved, in due course, to Cuddesdon, where he fell under the direct influence of Edward King. On the 2nd of November 1862, Liddon wrote to King: "It is very delightful to hear such good accounts of Suckling. The son of so many prayers, and the heir *tanti nominis*, ought to do well. And I am much rejoiced that you like Stanton"—a curious conjunction of two names destined to be closely associated just twenty years later.

Mr. Suckling was ordained Deacon in 1865, and Priest in 1867. He served the curacy of Rowde, in Wiltshire, for three years. In 1868 he became Rector of his old home, Barsham; and in 1880, by a singular act of self-denial, he forsook "his own people and his father's house" to succeed Mr. Lowder in the Incumbency of St. Peter's, London Docks. He had only been there two years when the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's invited him to become Vicar of St. Alban's in succession to Mackonochie; and he was instituted to that benefice by Bishop Jackson on the 7th of December 1882. The Institution was performed in private, for fear of possible disturbances by angry Puritans.

The circumstances under which Mackonochie

resigned St. Alban's were narrated in the last chapter; but it is expedient that the narrative should be supplemented by a more detailed statement of the facts.

"After the deprivation of Mr. Green,[1] and in view of the probable action of Lord Penzance at the solicitation of the Church Association, some of Mr. Mackonochie's friends suggested the idea of his effecting some exchange. This proposal he rejected, preferring to fight out the matter in his own parish, where, I may say, he was more strongly entrenched than is generally understood. Then came the letter of the Archbishop, asking for a resignation simply. Although Mr. Mackonochie consulted his friends and advisers, he has told us that, from the moment of reading that letter, he had virtually no doubt in his own mind as to the course which he must take. The 'Council of War' advised No Surrender; but, when it became clear that Mr. Mackonochie had determined to give way—he did, in fact, resign the next day—the idea of an exchange was revived, and it was found that the Bishop of London was in no way opposed to allowing Mr. Mackonochie other work in his diocese.[2] St. Peter's, London Docks, was

[1] The Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, was "deprived" on the 16th of August 1882.

[2] On the 4th of January 1883, Bishop Jackson wrote thus to the Chairman of the Church Association:

"If there are those, who, knowing, as I do, the good and self-denying work done among the poor and ignorant by such men as Mr. Mackonochie and the late Mr. Lowder, are yet, on account of differences in discipline and doctrine (the seriousness of which I do not wish to extenuate) unable to appreciate it or afraid to acknowledge it, I cannot sympathize with them; I can only pity them."

not the first place thought of, and indeed, at one time, there was a suggestion that our Vicar should take a curacy in another East-end parish. Meanwhile, he had resigned, and St. Alban's, Holborn, was vacant. The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's offered it to Mr. Suckling, who was at first, for obvious reasons, reluctant to accept it, but was finally prevailed upon to do so. Then the living of St. Peter's, London Docks, was offered to Mr. Mackonochie, who was not, however, either nominated or instituted, until two days after Mr. Suckling had been instituted at St. Alban's, Holborn. So far from the matter being a pre-arranged scheme, it was throughout a history of divided opinions and confused counsels. The considerations which finally triumphed were — the Archbishop's dying appeal for peace; the Bishop of London's generous appreciation of the value of those clergy in his diocese who are not satisfied with the law as it stands; Mr. Mackonochie's resolution to listen to the Archbishop rather than to his more ardent advisers; and last, but not least, Mr. Suckling's consent to sacrifice his own feelings for the peace of the Church." [1]

At this perplexing juncture in the fortunes of St. Alban's, Mr. Hubbard intervened with good effect. To one of the Trustees of St. Peter's, London Docks, he wrote as follows on the 3rd of December 1882:

"With your letter there arrives one from Charles Wood,[2] rejoicing in the prospect of averting a great calamity through the exchange of Suckling for Mackonochie. The plan was either suggested or

[1] A letter from "A Parishioner of St. Alban's, Holborn," to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1883.

[2] Afterwards Lord Halifax.

supported by Archbishop Tait, as conducive to the peace of the Church.[1] I quite approve of it, for it baulks Lord Penzance of the exercise of his usurped jurisdiction, and the Church Association of their victim.

"Do pray accept Mr. Mackonochie."

This was done, and on the 28th of January 1883 Mackonochie "read himself in" at St. Peter's.

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The situation which confronted Mr. Suckling when, in January 1883, he began his work at St. Alban's, was not, at the first glance, reassuring. He came, as a stranger, to become the official superior of men who had worked in the parish ever since their ordination; who knew every incident in the life of the district, and were on the friendliest terms with the inhabitants. Had these priests been jealous or pettish or ill-conditioned men, the very fact of their popularity would have made them difficult coadjutors. Reared in Tractarian traditions, and in a scrupulous loyalty to the practice of the Church of England, the new Vicar found himself in a church where every detail and adjunct of Worship had been studiously arranged to look as Roman as it could. Then again St Alban's was a church which, whether by design or by accident, had always stood rather aloof from the main stream of the Catholic Movement. The attitude of the congregation might have tempted a modern Job to the ironical compliment: "No doubt but ye are the people, and Wisdom shall die with you." The church had been, from the very beginning, dominated by forceful characters—one indeed now

[1] This point seems doubtful.

removed, but not to a great distance, and others remaining—and to those characters had been conceded a liberty of individual speech and action which clashed violently with the Anglican tradition of parochial discipline. Himself a gentle Tory and a lover of the established order, Mr. Suckling found himself surrounded by Radicals, and Disestablishers, and Semi-Socialists; and, whereas he believed in the sacred duty of teaching dogma to school-children, he was faced by an unabashed proposal to let the Church's Schools go, and trust the children to the tender mercies of the State.

If these were (or even resembled) the difficulties which greeted Mr. Suckling on his first arrival at St. Alban's, how did he overcome them? That they were overcome, is a fact patent to all men; but how was it done? The answer is—by the "meekness and gentleness," the "mildness and sweet reasonableness," which we learn from the Highest of all Examples; and through the grace of a most sincere humility.

"Humility, so far from destroying moral force, protects and strengthens it; it sternly represses the petty vanities through which the strength of the soul evaporates and is lost; it keeps even a St. John the Baptist 'in the desert till the day of his showing unto Israel'; and then, when the hour is come, it opens upon the world the force of a soul which is strong precisely because it has been humble."[1]

Enough has now been said to indicate the causes of the admirable continuity which merged the first and second Incumbencies of St. Alban's into one,

[1] H. P. Liddon.

though the timid and the faithless and the half-hearted "prognosticated a year of sects and schisms." A change of vicars generally means a change of methods, but this Mr. Suckling most wisely avoided. Everything went on as before. The modified ritual which Mackonochie had introduced was continued, and all the parochial agencies and institutions were still maintained on the accustomed lines. On Good Friday 1883 the Three Hours Service, which Mackonochie had so long conducted with never-failing helpfulness, was taken by Mr. Stanton. On Easter Day the chief Service was, as usual, a *Missa Cantata*, and there were 456 communicants. On St. Alban's Day Mr. Suckling issued his first Address to the Parish, beginning thus:

"The first thing that presents itself to the minds and hearts of the readers of the Annual St. Alban's Address, must be the great change that has taken place in the Parish. I allude, of course, to the resignation of the first Vicar, the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie.

"You will naturally expect that this subject should be the first noticed by his successor. It is a great event, often a sad event, in the history of any new parish to lose their first Vicar, but I think all must regard your loss with exceptional sympathy; and from letters and communications I have reason to know that many, entire strangers to yourselves, have felt deeply for you; and the separation has been spoken of as a 'cruel ending,' both to Priest and people, 'of a noble work.' 'I do feel for Father Mackonochie;' 'What *must* the people of St. Alban's think?' were some of the expres-

sions used by certain members of my old flock. It certainly was hard for you to lose one in whom you naturally placed such confidence; to lose one who had, under God, led you through so many battles; who by his courage, determination, and perseverance had won respect for St. Alban's throughout the Kingdom—nay, throughout the world; who had been the means, in God's hands, of vindicating, at so great a cost to himself, the Spiritual authority of the Church of England; who, by the beautiful way in which he took his various insults, insinuations, and slights, had taught us, not only by words but by actions, how to live the life of the Cross, and also had shown to thousands the truly supernatural power of suffering.

"There is in all that has happened a bright side, I am sure you will admit. It is a comfort to many to know that Father Mackonochie is at hand, ready and willing as ever to give all help and counsel at St. Alban's. His weekly visit reminds many of this, and also of his readiness to help, and this year it must be a satisfaction to a great number to present him with a Testimonial amounting to £1500."

[This Testimonial was presented to Mackonochie at the Parochial Luncheon on St. Alban's Day. It is symptomatic of the impression made by his self-sacrificing character, that his friends would not entrust him with the capital, but bought him an annuity with it.]

After reviewing the work and institutions of the Parish, Mr. Suckling said, towards the conclusion of his Address:

"Last I come to the Assistant Clergy of St.

Lord Penzance

Mr. Cyrus Waddilove

Mr. Pitt (Apparitor)

W. P. Moore

Sir J. Parker Deane

Mr. F. H. Jeune

Rev. T. O. Marshall (E.C.U.)

LORD PENZANCE'S COURT

*From sketch by* W. MALLETT

Alban's, and I cannot close without expressing my many obligations to them. They have most kindly continued to work with me. You can, I am sure, easily understand what I owe to the Rev. A. H. Stanton, for the generous and most unselfish way in which he has helped me. For twenty years he has worked amongst you, and yet he still keeps his position as Assistant Curate under a new Vicar; this, I am sure, speaks for itself."

There were, as we have already seen, some who thought Mackonochie's retirement from St. Alban's a wise step, and some who thought differently; but all alike believed that it would of necessity terminate the harassing litigation in which he had been so long involved. Not so. His opponents, guided by something which looks more like personal malignity than zeal for law, hunted him yet once more into the P. W. R. Court.

On the 21st of July 1883, Lord Penzance declared that no substantial change had been made in the situation by the exchange of benefices; that, if Mackonochie had been unbeneficed, the appropriate sentence would have been perpetual inhibition from officiating; but that, since he still held a benefice, its situation was immaterial; and, on this ground, deprived him of his living. The Bishop of London—one cannot help thinking, much against his will—issued a Writ of Sequestration, and the wretchedly poor parish of St. Peter's was mulct in the sum of £300 a year.

This was the final blow, and it fell upon an enfeebled frame, and a nervous system worn out by incessant anxiety. Dr. Pusey once said to his

doctor: "One hour's harass is worse than ten hours' work"; and Mackonochie had now borne, in addition to the burden of incessant labour, twenty-five years of "harass." With touching simplicity he wrote: "After all, I must own that, since 1858, I have had little except strife—so that I may be thankful to have survived at all." But now the time had come when, in order to save St. Peter's from pecuniary ruin, it was best for him to retire. He resigned his living on the 31st of December 1883, a broken and beaten man. His old home at St. Alban's welcomed him with open arms, and in the chivalrous devotion of Mr. Suckling and his colleagues he found some balm for his wounded spirit.

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On New Year's Day 1884, an excellent addition was made to the institutions of St. Alban's by the establishment of the *St. Alban's Parish Magazine*, which, as the *Monthly Paper*, still serves as a record of all parochial sayings and doings, and as a method of communication between scattered friends of the church.

The year was made memorable by the restoration of full ritual at High Mass; and in the winter preparations were begun for the third London Mission. This Mission opened on the 7th of February 1885, and closed on the 17th. The Missioners at St. Alban's were the Rev. C. R. Chase, Vicar of All Saints', Plymouth, the Rev. William Scott, Curate of Prestbury, and the Rev. James Frampton, Chaplain at Ascot Priory. One result of the Mission was a large number of candidates for Confirmation; and, at Mr. Suckling's request, backed by Mac-

konochie, Bishop Temple, who had succeeded Bishop Jackson in the previous January, himself administered Confirmation in St. Alban's Church. In his Annual Address, Mr. Suckling wrote: "The announcement that Bishop Temple would hold a Confirmation at St. Alban's soon disposed most of the faithful of St. Alban's to receive him with open arms. And, now that we have seen him and heard him, I believe I may say that that feeling is increased tenfold."

The year of 1886 was at St. Alban's a year of bricks and mortar. In January, the new Schools and Parish Room were opened with appropriate ceremonies. In March, the new Vestry was completed, and on the 22nd of June a new Mortuary was dedicated. The Prayer Book tells us that St. Alban's Day is the 17th of June, but Dr. Dryasdust says it is the 22nd, and Dryasdust prevailed. In 1886 the Festival of the Patron Saint was celebrated at St. Alban's on the 22nd of June, and this dislocation of the Kalendar has since remained in force. The first incident of the day was the Benediction of the exquisite Shrine of Rest, suitably and solemnly furnished, which now exchanged the grim title of "Mortuary" for another, full of soothing association, "The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre," or, for short, "St. Sepulchre's." The Benediction was performed by Mackonochie, just before High Mass, at which the preacher was Canon Carter of Clewer.

The year 1887 was engrossed, to a degree which no later celebrations have equalled, by the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. A kind of loyal passion, exuberant, romantic, and picturesque, swept the nation out of all its habitual pre-occupations; and all local and sectional interests were by common consent adjourned to a more convenient season. St. Alban's shared the universal emotion, and the only parochial event of that summer was the visit of the beloved Bishop of Lincoln, Edward King, who preached at Evensong on St. Alban's Day. His text was St. Matthew v. 14: "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." St. Alban's Church, he said, was such a City, and the sermon ended with a fervent prayer for its welfare.

"God grant that St. Alban's may for many a long year still continue to witness that she is a City offering sympathy and support to men—'set on a hill'—that is, built upon the Rock; and that her members may find that they have been made ready by the life here, to be transplanted to the City that is set upon the Everlasting Hills. That is the City that 'lieth foursquare,' having three gates upon each side; that is, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost looking out, North and South, East and West, upon the whole world, to welcome in all to that home where there is room for all."

Among the worshippers, though not among the officiants, on that St. Alban's Day was the ex-Vicar, who noted in his diary the peculiar pleasure of meeting the Bishop of Lincoln. It was stated at the outset of this book that the history of St. Alban's is inseparably connected with Mac-

konochie's person and work; so it is necessary at this point to retrace our steps.

We have seen that when Mackonochie resigned St. Peter's, London Docks, he took up his abode at St. Alban's Clergy House; and, holding the Bishop's General Licence, he continued to do a good deal of priestly work in the diocese. He was constantly at St. Saviour's Priory, Haggerston, of which he had long been Chaplain; and he went on Celebrating and hearing confessions in St. Alban's Church. While his headquarters were at the Clergy House, he paid frequent visits to friends in the country—to his brother, Mr. James Mackonochie, at Wantage, and to the Bishop of Argyll,[1] an old ally of St. Alban's, at Ballachulish, near Oban. While staying with the Bishop at Passiontide 1884, he preached the Three Hours, and in the autumn of the same year he gave a Retreat for Clergy at Cumbrae. It was about this time that his friends began to notice a certain hesitation in his speech, accompanied by some slight confusion of thought, and these disquieting symptoms increased as the months went by. Being blessed by nature with what seemed invincible strength, he had tried it too severely; and his total disregard of self had made him unconscious of any departure from normal health. But now he began to heed the warnings, which had been too long neglected, and dutifully obeyed all medical directions. In 1885 he wrote to a friend: "I am quite well *bodily*. Almost every priest of any standing seems to have had to get through the same difficulties." In the following year: "I am still not able to do much writing, or anything

[1] J. R. A. Chinnery-Haldane.

else. This is very much due to my folly in trying (from about November 1884 to about this time last year) to do *some* work . . . I cannot think to any purpose, or speak what I want to say even in a common conversation. I sometimes see what I want to say, and the moment I begin to speak the sentence has flown from me." Thus cut off from most of his sacred activities, the stricken priest found an entirely new delight in the beauties of nature. "It is interesting," says the Rev. E. F. Russell, "to note that at the last, when all spiritual responsibility had been completely removed, the sense of natural beauty welled up like a flood to fill the vacant place, and he became keenly appreciative of scenery, especially of the wilder Highland scenery."

This love of the Highlands gave a special zest to his visits to the Bishop of Argyll, who was the kindest and most considerate of hosts. "As to the condition of his mind," the Bishop writes, "during his abode with us, there were no fancies or delusions such as come to most people. He was only forgetful of names and words, and incapable of expressing himself clearly." To this should be added a tendency to forget his whereabouts, which caused him sometimes to alight at a wrong station, or even to lose his way on the Berkshire Downs, though he had been familiar with them ever since his Ordination. It is perhaps remarkable that his letters, written in these years and reverently preserved, are not only perfectly coherent, but vigorous and even beautiful.[1]

As his infirmities increased, he withdrew more

[1] See p. 277 of his *Memoir* by E. A. T.

and more from London, and made his home with his brother at Wantage. Here he still continued to serve the Church, according to his limited opportunities; visiting the Alms-Houses, conversing with the poor, distributing the Parish Magazines, and the like; but he rarely preached after 1885, and, though he occasionally heard a confession, he would not trust himself to Celebrate except on very special occasions. It was the supreme sacrifice of his life.

He left Wantage, for ever as it proved, on the 19th of October 1887, and, after paying visits to some friends on the way, he reached Ballachulish on the 10th of December.

"The place lies in a curve of the Lochaber shore, about ten miles from the head of Loch Leven. Beyond it, stretching inland, is the desolate and almost trackless forest of Mamore, separated by the Kinloch Hills from the Pass of Glencoe."

The Bishop was obliged to leave home on the day of Mackonochie's arrival, but Mrs. Chinnery-Haldane welcomed the honoured guest, and found him very cheerful in his quiet way, and ready to talk with interest on all manner of topics, domestic and foreign. He was a good deal confined to the house by hard frost and heavy snow; but he set out on Wednesday, and came back two hours late for luncheon, having apparently missed his way. That evening he said Compline in the Private Chapel, and this office proved to be his last earthly ministration. Thursday the 15th of December broke clear and fine, and he set out for a long walk to the head of the lake. He took some luncheon with him, and two of the Bishop's dogs bore him company. He reached Kinloch

before two o'clock, and was seen by a gamekeeper eating his luncheon on the hill. From this point all is conjecture; but it seems probable that the baffling loss of local memory came on; that he mistook his bearings, and pursued his way, ever further and further from friendly Ballachulish, towards the Mamore Forest. That afternoon the Bishop returned. Darkness fell, and no Mackonochie. Knowing his friend's infirmity, the Bishop was seriously alarmed by this long absence, and organized search-parties. The search continued, all through Thursday night, Friday, and Saturday. On Saturday afternoon, the Bishop's dogs were sighted; and, when the searchers approached them, they found him for whom they were searching, dead, and half shrouded in the snow.

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Rose-red o'er Ballachulish
  The sunset dies away,
And glorious to the last expands
  The short December day;
The purple islands of the West
  Stretch down the ocean-way;
The great and lonely mountain-land
  Looms inland ghostly-grey.

Oh, dark upon Loch Leven
  Comes down the winter night;
The desert spirits that love not man
  The lonely hills affright;
The blinding whirlwinds and the snow
  Beat out all sound and sight;
No moon is there, nor stars to give
  The wanderer any light.

MEMORIAL CROSS IN THE MAMORE FOREST

Oh, awful is the wilderness,
And pitiless the snow;
But down in dim St. Alban's
The Seven Lamps burn aglow,
And softly in the Sanctuary
The Priest moves to and fro,
And with one heart the people pray;
And this is home below.

And higher, in the House of God,
Seven Lamps before the Throne,
The golden vials of odours sweet,
The voice of praise alone;
With the beloved, the redeemed,
Whose toil and tears are done,
And this is in the Father's Home
That waits for everyone.

O Priest, whom men unkindly judged
Too fixed on rule and rite,
In this thine hour no ritual comes
To help thee through the night;
None but the Everlasting Arms
Support thee with their might,
None but the unseen Comforter
Upholds thy soul in flight.

Sleep on in Christ. "O Lamb of God!"
Resounds the Passion-hymn;
And Heaven is opened, and we join
The song of Seraphim:
One Presence fills, unites, transforms,
Beneath these arches dim,
And they who wake and they who sleep,
Together live in Him.[1]

Late on Saturday night the 17th of December, Mr. Suckling received at St. Alban's the following

[1] H. E. Hamilton King.

telegram from the Bishop of Argyll: "Our dear brother Mackonochie has been taken to his rest." Next day came the details: "He lost his way among the hills at night in a storm. I found him after long search lying in a snow-drift with a peaceful expression on his face."

Mr. Russell immediately left London for Ballachulish, where he arrived on Monday evening, the 19th of December, and returned with the body, reaching London on Wednesday morning. The sacred deposit was borne, through reverent crowds, to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, which the departed priest had himself dedicated. There the Holy Mysteries were celebrated, and there lay the coffin, guarded by faithful watchers, till Thursday evening, when it was placed in the church. On Friday morning, after a solemn Dirge and Requiem, it was conveyed to St. Alban's Burial-ground at Woking, the procession to Waterloo Station being received with striking manifestations of public as well as personal respect. "I did not," said a local tradesman, "agree with him; but he was a holy man, and did more for London than most of us; so I for one shall put my shutters up." At Woking, the body was laid in a grave lined with ferns and evergreens, near the foot of the great Crucifix which guards the ground. Mr. Stanton said the last prayers, and then the mourners sang the strangely-appropriate hymn which prays the "Kindly Light" to

> "Lead us on,
> O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
> The night is gone."

A message of Benediction from the Bishop of

Argyll brought the service to a close, and Alexander Heriot Mackonochie was left lying wrapt in the Peace of God.

"Be it that the passage is rough and the day stormy, by what way soever He please to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul in all cases—*Te Deum Laudamus.*"[1]

The following words are from the pen of Mr. Stanton:

"It is ungracious, and beyond just surmise, to say that the enfeeblement of his manly, strong, loving life was the necessary result of the repeated prosecutions which the Church Association thought it their duty to maintain; but there can be little doubt that underneath the brave cheerfulness with which he met all the reverses, and submitted to the indignities consequent upon them, there lay a very keen sensitiveness, and that the 'iron entered his soul.' For, although never admitted by him, it was observable, so that no one wondered at the storm-beaten expression on his face and the broken utterances of his lips, which marked the two declining years of his life.

"The mystery of his stern, hard, self-devoted life completed itself in the weird circumstances of his death. He seems to have walked round and round the hollow in which he had taken shelter from the mountain storm, trying to keep life in him as long as he could; then, as if he knew his hour had come, deliberately to have uncovered his head to say his last prayers, and then to have laid his head upon his hand and died, sheltered in 'the hollow of

[1] Daniel Defoe.

the hand' of God, Whom he served so faithfully; and at His bidding the wild wind from off the moor wreathed his head with snow."

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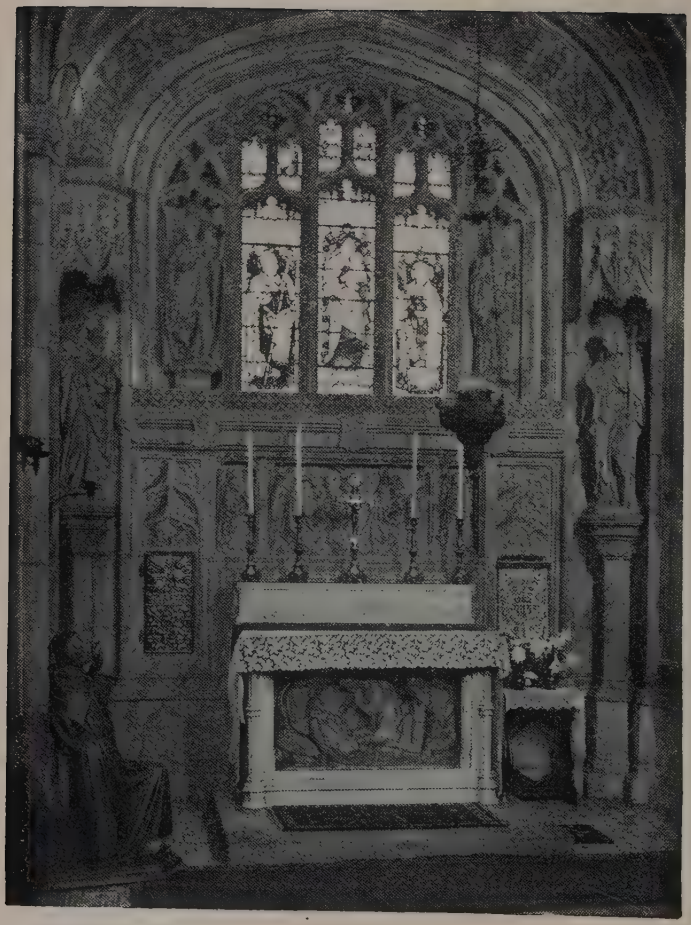
Thou who hast fallen upon the days
That see the ancient strife renewed,
Seek not the meed of present praise,
But, "as resisting unto blood,"
In quiet confidence hold on,
Like him that layeth stone on stone—

In the undoubting faith, although
It be not granted him to see,
Yet, that the coming age shall know
He hath not wrought unmeaningly,
When gold and chrysoprase adorn
A city brighter than the morn.

G. J. Cornish.

CENOTAPH IN MACKONOCHIE CHAPEL

*From photograph by* R. HUTH



INTERIOR OF MACKONOCHIE CHAPEL

*From photograph by* R. HUTH

# CHAPTER XI

## PEACE AND PROGRESS

"We went through fire and water, and Thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place."—DAVID.

THIS narrative has now reached the beginning of the year 1888. On the 21st of February in that year, St. Alban's Church kept its twenty-fifth birthday, and its friends could look back on a quarter of a century marked, through the greatest part of the time, by trials and troubles, fightings and fears. But now the long-continued storm had spent its force; and they who had fought through those dark and agitated years were permitted to see the result of toil and sacrifice and suffering long and patiently endured.

On the 14th of May 1888, the Bishop of the Diocese again administered Confirmation in the Church; and during the Octave of St. Alban three Bishops took part in the services. Regarded in contrast with the doings of 1868, 1875, and 1882, these events, not in themselves remarkable, were welcome signs of brighter weather, and Mr. Suckling and his colleagues might well thank God and take courage.

The year 1889 was marked by a death which woke some deep and stirring memories. On the 1st of October Mr. Suckling wrote in the Parish Magazine: "It pleased God to call to himself, on

the 28th of August, the soul of John Gellibrand Hubbard, the first Lord Addington. To him our parish owes a deep debt of gratitude. He it was who built our church, and gave to St. Alban's, as its first Vicar, Father Mackonochie. One of the daily papers, speaking of this gift, calls it 'a strife of tongues'; but we know that no Parish Church in modern times has had such a history; and, if in the battle that was here fought there were wounds, they in time (D.V.) will be healed and forgotten. But I hope that we shall never forget what we owe to Lord Addington, our Founder. . . . Let us, as we think of him, say *Requiescat in Pace*."

Lord Addington was a man of peculiarly English mould; straightforward, persistent, and transparently sincere. As a patriarchal head of a family, a thorough man of business, a fine horseman and sportsman, a munificent giver, and above all a devoted son of the Church of England, he combined the best features of the English character. To these must be added an ingrained and conscientious Conservatism which profoundly mistrusted changes in Church or State, and a masterful will which did not readily tolerate opposition or disagreement. But his name must always be held in honour as that of the first layman who, in the earlier days of the Catholic Revival, recognized the duty of bringing the beauties of religious architecture, good music, and expressive ritual, to the very doors of the poor and degraded.

"He looked for the city which hath the foundations, whose architect and maker is God."[1]

[1] Hebrews xi. 10 (R.V.).

One of Lord Addington's last acts of kindness towards St. Alban's was to approve the scheme for a Memorial to Mackonochie, which had been submitted to his judgment as Founder, as well as to that of the Bishop and the Patrons. This scheme involved the purchase and destruction of a squalid and filthy row of cottages, backing on the narrow pathway by which the south door of St. Alban's Church was reached. A portion of the cleared site was left open, to the great advantage of the neighbourhood, and planted with planes; and on the portion nearer the West End of the church a Memorial Chapel was erected. On the 24th of June 1890, the Foundation-stone was laid by that munificent and devoted churchman, Frederick, 6th Earl Beauchamp, and the Chapel was dedicated by the Bishop of Argyll on the 15th of December 1891. There is no need to describe the Chapel or its contents, for it stands, and will stand long after this generation has passed away, as a memorial of one who was at least a Saint and a Confessor—if indeed we might not claim for him a higher title.[1]

At the Public Luncheon on St. Alban's Day 1891, allusion had been made to a project for placing a Rood in the Chancel-Arch. This project originated in a word let drop by Mr. Stanton in preaching the Three Hours on the previous Good Friday; and, after some considerable difference of opinion, it was carried into effect, chiefly by the generosity of Henry, 7th Duke of Newcastle.

At the Public Luncheon in the following year

[1] The fund raised for the Mackonochie Memorial had, by July 1893, amounted to £6849, 13*s.* 10*d.* A Memorial Cross was erected in the Mamore Forest. See Illustration facing p. 216.

Lord Halifax presided, and made an effective allusion to past and present persecutions. "Every day makes it more clear that the peace which we now enjoy, and the peace which we trust to go on enjoying, under God's mercy, is due, more than anything else, to the courage, the determination, the patience, and the steadfast attitude of clergy like Mr. Mackonochie. Of course, it is true that Mr. Mackonochie, unlike some whose names are present to our minds, was not actually shut up within prison-walls for the sake of the Faith; but he probably had to endure what is far worse, for he—and I feel it is no exaggeration to say this—had to endure something like a lifelong martyrdom for the sake of the Cause."

The new Rood was dedicated on Shrove Tuesday, February 14, 1893, and made the Crucifix, which in distant days had so perturbed good Bishop Jackson, seem indeed a small thing. On St. Alban's Day 1894, the Vicar boldly demanded a sum of £5000 for the enrichment and beautification of the church. The original Altar had come to be regarded as inadequate to the increasing splendour of its surroundings, and a sumptuous structure of marble and bronze (in which the old Altar was encased), was dedicated on the 21st of June 1895. A new organ, occupying the Choir-aisles on both sides, was opened at the same time. But still more magnificence was to come. In 1896, the church was illuminated with electric light, and a most gorgeous and elaborate Triptych, representing the martyrdom of St. Alban, was placed above the new Altar, and dedicated on Easter Eve 1897. It had been remarked with

EAST END, WITH ROOD

*From photograph by* R. HUTH

interest that Bishop Temple (who was then nearing the close of his episcopate in London), having personally inspected the new Altar with its very conspicuous Tabernacle, the Rood, and the Triptych, passed them without a hostile word, and without putting the parish to the expense of a Faculty. He was no lover of ecclesiastical gauds, but he could appreciate devoted work for God and souls.

On the 11th of October 1896 Archbishop Benson was suddenly called to rest. On the 22nd of October the Prime Minister[1] requested Bishop Temple to undertake the vacant Primacy. The Bishop consented, and was enthroned at Canterbury on the 8th of January 1897. On the 18th of January he bade farewell to the Diocese of London at a great gathering of clergy and laity assembled in the Guildhall. The Editor of the St. Alban's Monthly Paper paid this striking tribute to the new Archbishop:

"For eleven years he has presided over this great diocese, the hardest worker of us all, scrupulously just, and fearlessly outspoken. Of the three Bishops who have ruled the diocese since the Consecration of our church, no one has shown us so much consideration as Bishop Temple. That he was not in sympathy with many of our ideas and methods did not prevent him, as it prevented other Bishops, from giving us what help he could." The new Bishop of London was Mandell Creighton, translated from Peterborough.

The year 1897 was much occupied by the ob-

[1] Lord Salisbury.

servance of Queen Victoria's second Jubilee; and, as the 22nd of June was the day chosen for the Queen's triumphal procession through London, that very "Moveable Feast," St. Alban's Day, was transferred to the 24th of June, the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. "Persons with a taste for prophecy foretold the most lamentable things, and pictured the Holborn Town Hall empty and the tables bare. As a matter of fact, the numbers showed no falling-off, and the food was as abundant and varied and well-served as it has always been."

The year 1898 dawned on a church at peace. Nothing seemed less probable than a recrudescence of that ignorant and violent Puritanism which prevailed in the years when the Public Worship Regulation Act was in full swing. But the unexpected happened. "Early in the year a Protestant bookseller, who had long been endeavouring to get himself taken seriously by the public, rented an office in the parish of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, in order that he might be legally qualified to communicate at the Parish-Altar, and to disturb the united congregation which worshipped there."[1] Firm and tactful treatment averted disturbance: but the bookseller soon sought further notoriety by violently interrupting the Service of the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, at St. Cuthbert's Church, Philbeach Gardens. The outrage at St. Cuthbert's was followed by similar performances —notably at St. Michael's, Shoreditch, and St. Thomas's, Liverpool; but decent Evangelicals soon became disgusted with their self-chosen champion and his methods. It was found impossible to main-

[1] The *Church Times*.

tain the reign of terror. Churchmen, all over the country, banded themselves together for the defence of their religious liberty; and the promising scheme of a thousand riots in as many churches on the first Sunday in November was abandoned as impracticable.

That stout champion of Erastianism and other lost causes, Sir William Harcourt, renewed his youth like an eagle, and flew into the fray. His last achievement in this field had occurred during the debates on the P. W. R. Bill in 1874, when Gladstone inflicted on him a deserved and memorable castigation.[1] Since that unpleasant but salutary evening, Sir William (who after Gladstone's return to power in 1880 had become an enthusiastic Gladstonian) had kept aloof from religious controversy. But now Gladstone was in his grave, and the attack on Ritualism might be renewed with comparative safety. Accordingly, Sir William broke loose in a series of speeches filled with the coarsest abuse of the Ritualistic Clergy, and enlivened the Parliamentary recess with a series of furious letters to the *Times*. Encouraged by this heroic example, smaller fry began to talk airily of coercive legislation; of the abolition of the Bishop's Veto on ecclesiastical prosecutions; of the substitution of Deprivation for imprisonment; and of sundry other short and easy methods for decatholicizing the Church of England. The threats of 1873 and 1874 were heard again; and we were told once more that "the Mass" and "the Confessional" must be put down by law. Beset by all this clamour, the new Bishop of London took an ambiguous and unsuccessful line. He was, as all the

[1] See *ante*, p. 127.

world knows, a very clever man; he was also good-natured and obliging; and furthermore, he saw that these disturbances threatened the security of the Establishment. So he set himself to mediate between the warring factions; and played off Protestant against Catholic, Ritualist against Puritan. To men fanatically in earnest about saving souls, he made bad jokes about curing herrings. He gave a point here, and withdrew a point there; chaffed a Ritualist, and snubbed an Evangelical; and all the while had his eye most manifestly fixed on the *Times*, the House of Lords, and the Man in the Street. Mr. Suckling, writing of him after his death, said that he "spent hours of his precious time in personal and individual interviews with his Clergy. In this noble work his broad sympathies and personal kindness touched us deeply, for, while he tried to understand our position and gave us credit for good motives, he patiently explained his own position, and in a way that showed most clearly that, with a wonderful liberality, he had his own strong personal convictions." That is kindly and well said, but it is difficult for the dispassionate outsider to praise Creighton's dealings with the "Crisis" of 1898–9.

On the 5th of November 1898, the Bishop wrote as follows to the Vicar of St. Alban's:

MY DEAR MR. SUCKLING,—My attention has been called to the report in the *Church Times* of a service held in St. Alban's, Holborn, on November 2. According to that report, the Holy Communion Service was begun with the Collect of the day; the Creed and the *Gloria* were omitted; at the

end of the service an "Office of the Absolution of the Dead" was performed; and, after that, a sermon was preached, instead of in the place prescribed by the rubric.

This is contrary to the instructions which I issued to the Clergy of the Diocese. I there distinctly requested that "the Service for Holy Communion should be said as it is appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, without additions or omissions." I also asked that all additional Services should be submitted for my sanction.

I should be glad to receive from you some explanation on these points.

I am, yours truly,
M. LONDON.

Mr. Suckling replied on the 7th of November:

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—Our services on All Souls' Day were exactly the same as they have always been since I have been here.

Your Lordship will remember that I stated to you in my letter of May 20 that I could not enter into the consideration of any modification of these services until the intimidation of mob law was at an end; and it is a matter of public notoriety that we were threatened with disturbances on Sunday last.

I will forward to your Lordship, as you request me to do so, a list of our additional Services as soon as I can, as I gather from your Lordship's request that in your opinion these outrages are at an end.

I beg to be,
Yours sincerely and respectfully in Christ,
R. A. J. SUCKLING.

The Bishop replied on the 10th of November:

My dear Mr. Suckling,—I am not quite certain about the meaning of your letter, and I should like to make it clear. While sympathizing with your unwillingness to seem to act under threats of disturbance from outside, I think that such threats are now abandoned. It is admitted on all sides that questions in dispute must be settled by orderly means.

May I take it that you accept this position, and are now prepared to act upon my request in the points to which I called your attention in my previous letter?

Yours truly,

M. London.

Mr. Suckling's last letter was written on the 11th of November:

My dear Lord Bishop,—Your Lordship is quite correct as to the meaning of my last letter, and, as you assure me that this tyranny is overpast, I am hoping to submit to your judgment all the extra Services which we have in the church outside those in the Book of Common Prayer.

I hope that this attitude is perfectly plain to your Lordship, and to the public.

I beg to be,

Yours sincerely and respectfully in Christ,

R. A. J. Suckling.

The whole correspondence appeared in the *Times* of November 14. In the Monthly Paper for December 1898, Mr. Suckling touched on "a matter which is of interest to you all, and, I fear,

a cause of anxiety to many." He would not at present enter into details, but he wrote as follows:

"First—I hope it is a mere truism to state that I am prepared to give Canonical obedience to my Bishop. The Bishop is a constitutional officer of the Church; and, while he cannot ask obedience to his own private views, he can ask obedience to the laws of the Church, and, when those laws are indisputable, the request from a Bishop that they should be carried out, is a 'godly admonition,' and the Priest, by trying to carry out such an order, is endeavouring to render to his Bishop 'Canonical obedience.'

"Secondly—I should like to answer a question that is being asked both publicly and privately, by saying that no alteration in our services will be made while the matter is under consideration."

On Sunday morning, the 18th of December, the following Letter was distributed to the congregation as they left the church:

My dear Parishioners and Friends,—The Bishop of London has sent for and revised all the additional services that we have been accustomed to use in this church, some of them for many years.

He has made many emendations in some, and some he has refused to sanction altogether.

Of course, as Ordinary, it is entirely within his rights to make these changes; and, whatever it may cost us, it is entirely within our duty loyally to obey.

What we shall feel most is the exception his Lordship takes to our Requiem services, which, as

you know, are exceedingly dear to us all; to touch them is to touch us at a very sensitive point, viz. our love for the dead. In the Mass we are to be content with a collect from "The Order for the Burial of the Dead," and in the place of the ordinary prayer he allows us to use the following: "May the Lord of His Mercy grant unto us, with all the faithful, rest and peace. Amen." Practically this is all we shall be able to do, and I can only suggest that you fill up with your private devotions what you feel is lacking.

### *The Sunday Services*

In these you will miss the *Asperges*, a simple and beautiful and evangelical introductory ceremony, which we had all unfortunately learnt to love. He wishes the singing of the Gradual to be discontinued, but otherwise the Morning Service will remain as it was before. Evensong is not to be enriched by Antiphons; and the Stations of the Cross, if used, must be so without the legend of St. Veronica.

### *The Weekday Services*

The Bishop cannot permit us to have the proper services for the Black-letter Saints' Days. If any special occasion arises we must apply to him for a special permit. He wishes the Creed and *Gloria* said at all Masses, and the Commandments at every Sunday Mass. This will oblige us, with this exception, to repeat the Sunday service throughout the whole week. We must, therefore, wait, with Bishop Wilson, "until it shall please God to put

into the hearts of such as ought to do it, to restore us a service more conformable to the appointment of Christ and His Apostles."

We do not wish to disguise from you that we feel that this is a great blow to our services, which we, the clergy and the congregation, must bear as we can between us. But so many churches are now suffering, that perhaps it is right that St. Alban's should take its share of the trouble which is felt by all who love the Catholic Faith and Catholic practice.

The specified changes will begin with the New Year.

We beg to be, yours affectionately in Christ,

R. A. J. Suckling.
A. H. Stanton.
E. F. Russell.
G. R. Hogg.
E. A. Harris.

St. Alban's Clergy House,
Brooke Street, Holborn, E.C.
*December 17th*, 1898.

This letter was published in the *Times* of December 19th, and Mr. Suckling received the following letter from his former Principal, Bishop King: "I have read your letter in the *Times* to-day, and I cannot go to bed without saying how thankful I am to you all for it. I know it must have cost you much, but I believe this will be a crown and glory to the noble work of self-devotion which you have carried on for the last thirty years. You know I have not always been able to agree with all you have done and taught at St. Alban's, but I have always admired, and thanked God for, the example of your loving devotion to the souls of the poor

and sinful, and now I thank God again for this example of Obedience."

In January 1899, Mr. Suckling thus addressed his congregation: "I think you will all know that the changes which we have made, have been done under a sense of *duty*. It is not that we were unmindful of the distress that they must cause to many. On the contrary, we know full well that the traditions of St. Alban's are very dear to our large and united congregation, and also to a large number of Church people; but, speaking for myself —though I think I may venture also to speak in the name of all our Clergy, when I say that— nothing could have induced me to be the means of causing so much pain to such a large number of devout English Catholics, save my solemn duty of rendering Canonical obedience to my Bishop."

In February Mr. Suckling returned to the subject.

"I know this 'Crisis' is a great strain on many priests and on many of the faithful laity, but at St. Alban's we ought to be both calm and brave, for (D.G.) the Clergy, Churchwardens, Sidesmen, and people are *united*, and to some extent hardened —I hope not in the wrong sense of the word—for two of our deeply respected Priests have been through fifteen years of persecution. . . .

"I was told that in a time of public panic Father Mackonochie was reminded of all such circumstances that seemed so against him and all that he held dear, and was then asked how it was that he did not even appear to be worried? His simple answer was: *I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.* May this precious spirit of trust, through your continued prayers, be ours to-day."

In the midst of these ecclesiastical worries, St. Alban's Church was threatened by a more material peril. In the early morning of the 9th of March 1899, the inmates of the Clergy House were woke by a violent noise of rattling gates, pealing bells, and shouts of "Fire!" In ten minutes, all the Clergy were in the church, and the men of the Fire Brigade were pouring in from all parts of London. A fire had broken out in a closely-adjacent factory; the flames spread rapidly, and by 5.30 A.M. it seemed as though the Church, the Schools, the Hall, and the Clergy House must perish. The factory was burnt to the ground, but the church, though damaged by smoke and water, was saved. On Mid Lent Sunday, the 12th of March, a solemn *Te Deum* was sung after High Mass, as an act of thanksgiving for this signal deliverance, and the alms were given to the Widows' and Orphans' Fund of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

Easter was celebrated with its accustomed joy and pomp; but trouble was again nigh at hand.

A curious transformation had occurred in the high places of the Church. Archbishop Temple, who when Bishop of London had let the Ritualists alone, and even defended them against their enemies, was suddenly seized by a desire to sit in judgment on them. He announced that, acting on the direction given in the Preface to the Prayer Book, he would be prepared to hear cases where doubts had arisen about the proper mode of conducting Divine Service, and would judge such cases with an open mind. Hereupon, the Rev. Henry Westall, Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, South Kensington,

and the Rev. Edward Ram, Vicar of St. John's, Norwich, were compelled or persuaded by their diocesans to submit themselves to this extemporized and anomalous jurisdiction. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned to his aid the Archbishop of York, who had no more right to sit in judgment at Lambeth than at Rome or at Antioch; and on the 10th of May 1899, the two Primates opened their mock Court; which indeed more closely resembled a Debating Society than a spiritual tribunal. The questions argued before them were whether (1) Incense and (2) Portable Lights might be used in public worship.

On the 31st of July, the Archbishops gave their joint decision. Archbishop Temple wrote it, and Archbishop Maclagan concurred. It condemned alike the Incense and the Portable Lights. As it was unfolded, the hearers learned, with varying emotions, that the Archbishop had overridden all considerations of Catholic usage, ecclesiastical propriety, and the practice of the English Church before or after the Reformation, and had based their decision simply on the Act of Uniformity. Mr. Westall and Mr. Ram had been trapped. They had expected spiritual judgment: they got carnal, and even musty, law.

The Archbishops seemed to expect that their "Opinion," as Temple subsequently called it, would be universally obeyed; but they were soon undeceived. Bishop Creighton, through letters to his Rural Deans, exhorted the Clergy of his Diocese to obey. Some of the weaker brethren immediately surrendered; some sturdier spirits stood firm; and others rendered various degrees of compliance.

The clergy of St. Alban's took a line of their own. The Vow of Canonical Obedience had weight; and the Vicar issued the following Notice to the Congregation on the 14th of September 1899:

"UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE, Sung Mass will be substituted at 11 for 'Solemn' High Mass, and 'Solemn' Evensong will be discontinued."

After all said and done, Incense and Portable Lights, though decorative adjuncts of worship, were not religious necessities; but Archbishop Temple now proceeded to a matter of vastly deeper importance. Dismissing his brother-Primate, he took upon himself to adjudicate on the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament; he listened, as before, to various arguments, and then, on the 1st of May 1900, he condemned Reservation in any shape, adding some remarks on Eucharistic doctrine which could scarcely be reconciled with Catholic theology.

At this point, even the patience of the St. Alban's clergy seems to have felt some strain, for in his Annual Address on St. Alban's Day 1900, the long-suffering Vicar wrote as follows:

"On the 31st of July last year, the first of these Opinions was delivered at Lambeth Palace. It in no way concerned us until the Bishop of London thought fit to take action. We rather hoped that he would have followed the example of Bishop Temple when Bishop of London, who, when the 'Lincoln Judgment' was given, issued no order to his diocese. But such was not to be. We had done our best to meet the request of our Bishop, and had signed a letter, which appeared in the *Times* of December 19, 1898, giving him our promise so to do. But the second request, that

we should give up the Ceremonial use of Incense and Portable Lights, we felt a greater difficulty. . . . Our deep sympathy was and is with the complete resistance made by the Vicar of St. Peter's, London Docks, backed up by the assistant clergy and congregation, and other congregations; but especially with our own devoted people we felt, and we now feel, how utterly unsuited such a service[1] is for such a Church as our own. But we had considerations to take into account, which made our present line of action necessary. I am quite unable to express my thanks to our people for their loyalty and for their wonderful patience. It is no small satisfaction to me—and I think to others—to know that our Clergy are all of one mind as to the line we took then.

"If we had a great difficulty with regard to the 'Opinion' from Lambeth given on the 31st of July last, what must be thought of that delivered on 'Reservation' on the Feast of SS. Philip and James? There can be no one who believes in the old traditional Faith, who has not been both wounded and distressed by it. It came from one whom many had learnt to love and respect. But, though it may be a real trial to us, we must take care not to exaggerate the perplexity of our position. When we believe the teaching of a Bishop to be in opposition to that of the Catholic Church, we should grieve over and deplore such a sad state of things; we should hate to be in opposition to our Bishop, but we should be in no perplexity as to how we *ought* to act. We learnt our faith from the Church, and every Bishop, however exalted in

[1] "Sung Mass," as distinct from "Solemn High Mass."

position, is as much a servant of the Church as the youngest Deacon ordained on Trinity Sunday last. And, if we are asked which we put first, our Bishop or the Church, we answer with Dr. Pusey rather than with Dr. Newman, that we put the Church before the Bishop; for then to disobey our Bishop would be our duty, lest 'obedience to the lesser should be disobedience to the greater.'"[1]

On the 14th of January 1901, Bishop Creighton died, worn out, as his friends said, by diocesan worries. He was succeeded by Dr. Winnington-Ingram, theretofore Bishop of Stepney; and the ecclesiastical tension of the last two years was gradually but sensibly relieved. The "Sung Mass," or *Missa Cantata*, which had been established in September 1899, continued to be the principal service on ordinary Sundays; but on great Festivals High Mass was celebrated with all its ceremonial adjuncts. By Confirming in the church on the 14th of May, the new Bishop of Stepney[2] was understood to signify the sanction of the Bishop of London to this arrangement. In the process of time, and "by steps unknown," High Mass resumed its old position as the regular service at 11 o'clock on Sundays and Holydays.

The local annals of the next few years yield no material for the historian of St. Alban's Church, but the fact that Mr. Charles Booth's judgment on the state of the parish (contained in his *Life and*

[1] *N.B.*—The Blessed Sacrament, which used to be reserved in the Sisters' Chapel, is now reserved in the Mackonochie Memorial Chapel, with the sanction of the Bishop of London (1912).

[2] C. G. Lang, afterwards Archbishop of York.

*Labour of the People in London*) was published in 1902, justifies its insertion in this place.

"The congregation comes from far and wide. In the hold which the Clergy obtain on the neighbouring poor, they owe much to the work of the Clewer Sisters—work which, although devoted, seems to be based to some extent on gifts. The character of the people reached, and, perhaps, to some extent, the character of the work itself, appears to be reflected in the complaint that the power of the Church does not make itself felt among the inhabitants of the Block-buildings, who are described as being 'too respectable' to be amenable to the influences brought to bear upon them.

"But failure on these lines, and hollow advantages obtained (which are only another form of failure) are accompanied by an extraordinary success in personal relations between the Clergy and many individuals amongst those who form the congregation, and with the men and lads who join the Clubs.

"The Clergy, two of whom have worked here for more than thirty years, are a veritable brotherhood. Nowhere is the spirit that actuates the High Church Movement better represented—a spirit of devoted, impassioned work, based on strong convictions of definite doctrine, and carried on without pause or faltering; sustained, they would unhesitatingly claim, by inspiration from above. . . . The work of this Church is very much bound up with its services, and its main care is the religious life thus reflected. Its local influence rests mostly upon the effect that must gradually be produced by the devoted lives of the Clergy."

WEST END, WITH FONT AND COVER

*From photograph by* R. HUTH

When Mr. Booth spoke thus warmly of the "personal relations between the Clergy, and many individuals amongst those who form the congregation," he rather understated than overstated the truth. From the beginning of the work even to the present day, it has been marked by a deep affection between the clergy and the people of St. Alban's, even including those who are not habitual Church-goers; and this affection has manifested itself in the most practical forms. The Church is indeed endowed, but £150 *per annum* is such an endowment as to afford plenty of scope for the liberality of the congregation; and this has been most bounteously exercised. Over and above the regular collections in church, and liberal Easter Offerings to the Vicar and clergy, the congregation has shown a laudable desire to improve every possible occasion by a timely gift. When a clergyman has been ill, or has wanted a special holiday, or has been put to unusual expense, or has left the parish for work elsewhere, or has presided for ten years over some parochial organization, the congregation has marked the event by some appropriate present. The fact that the Vicar and three of his colleagues have all kept their "Silver Weddings" with the Parish, has given abundant opportunity for graceful recognitions. In Mr. Suckling's case the recognition has taken a permanent form, for the money subscribed in honour of the twenty-fifth year of his incumbency he bestowed on the beautiful Font-Cover, which now testifies to the eye (what is too often forgotten) that Holy Baptism is one of the Two Great Sacraments of the Lord's ordaining.[1]

[1] This Font-Cover was blessed by the Bishop of Stepney (H L. Paget) on the 27th of June 1909.

The mention of these pleasing courtesies between people and priest justifies the insertion in this place of a detailed narrative concerning an event which stands out, conspicuously and significantly, in the later history of St. Alban's. It is given in the ensuing chapter.

# CHAPTER XII

## PERSONALITY

"Fort comme le diamant; plus tendre q'une mère."—H. D. LACORDAIRE.

THE Puritanical outbreak of 1898, fomented by episcopal cowardice and political wire-pulling, spread from London to the provinces; from the churches to the streets; and from the streets to the House of Commons. If the English mind had not long been inured to anomalies in the relations of Church and State, it must have realized the grotesqueness of the situation. A Parliament, rightly comprising men of all religions and none, was invited to consider the niceties of Sacramental worship, while the old hacks of the Treasury Bench laid down the law about Children's Eucharists and the Ministry of Penance. "To see men whose real self belonged to a kind of negative Hellenism—a state of moral indifferency without intellectual ardour—was," as Matthew Arnold once said, "even painful."

At the General Election of 1900, religious controversy, though overshadowed by the South African War, yet played a considerable part; and a Conservative M.P. thought it expedient to retire from the English Church Union lest his churchmanship should cost him his seat. In the new Parliament, the attack on the Ritualists was renewed; and in 1904 the Conservative Government, hard-pressed

by their Puritan supporters, fell back on the venerable device of postponing action by issuing a Royal Commission on Ritualism. This Commission was directed "to enquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the Law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England, and to the ornaments and fittings of churches; and to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable to such irregularities, and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite for dealing with the aforesaid matters." This Commission sat for two years, and reported on the 21st of June 1906. The only point in the Report with which this book has any concern is to be found under the head of "Manuals." By a considerable stretch of their terms of reference, the Commissioners made it their business to examine and report upon several books of private devotion which had been brought under their notice by Puritan agitators. Among these books they assigned the most conspicuous place to "*Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*, 6th edition (21st thousand), 1904." "The preface," they said, "is signed 'A. H. S.'; and the book is advertised by the publishers as to be by the Rev. A. H. Stanton, Curate of St. Alban's, Holborn." They then gave a detailed analysis of its contents, and, in the chapter of their Report dealing with "Causes of the failure to check irregularities," they inserted this significant paragraph: "The control of a Bishop over the curates of his diocese is, we need not say, very much greater than in the case of incumbents, and is no doubt exercised to a greater extent than the public realize. Some instances of the exercise of this

control occur in the evidence. On the other hand, we have difficulty in understanding how, for example, the author of *Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*—described by the present Bishop of London[1] as 'a thoroughly disloyal work'—has been allowed to hold a licence in the Diocese of London under successive Bishops, without being required to withdraw the book from circulation."

What the Royal Commissioners found it difficult to understand may be made intelligible by the record of what took place in Holborn Town Hall on the 26th of June 1907. For several years, Mr. Stanton had been in the habit of conducting special services in St. Alban's Church on Monday evenings in Advent, Lent, and August. Among the men who frequented those services there had been growing up a desire to testify in some unmistakable fashion their gratitude for spiritual benefits received; and the slur publicly cast on Mr. Stanton by the Report of the Royal Commission helped to convert what had been a vague desire into a definite resolve; but those who first suggested that an Address of appreciation and gratitude should be presented to Mr. Stanton had no idea that so small a fire would kindle so great a matter. The subject was broached after one of the Monday Evening Services in Advent 1906, and no more was contemplated at that time than that the men who had found these Services helpful and inspiring should make an opportunity of saying so, and of thanking God for it, and of thanking the man through whom God gave His gifts. The following Address was prepared and adopted at that time and for that purpose:

[1] A. F. Winnington-Ingram.

"DEAR FATHER STANTON.—The signatures which follow this are the names of some only of a large body of men who count themselves deeply indebted to you for your teaching and influence at St. Alban's, Holborn, in particular, but also in many other churches.

"For some time there has been an impression amongst us that you could only imperfectly know how singularly helpful these services have been to us. Year after year we have listened to and profited by your words, and our appreciation and gratitude for them has grown until we can no longer keep silence, but, simply, for our own relief, must tell you, in the simplest and most direct way we can, just what we feel. Your labour of love on our behalf has not been a wasted labour; it has done great good to many people, in particular to many men, who thank God for having given them the opportunity of knowing you. It has been not only the charm of your speech which has drawn us to you, but, what is of course of far higher value—the depth and reality of your religious teaching, your devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ, and your conspicuous ability to enter with sympathy into our thoughts and needs, and into all that which at this time makes faith and life difficult for men.

"We do not forget that there are women, in numbers not less than our own, who share our gratitude to you, and who would like, if opportunity were given, to express that gratitude, but it seems to us that your message has been pre-eminently a message to men, and has proved itself pre-eminently serviceable to men. For this reason

we have kept this expression of appreciation and thanks to the men only who have profited by your ministry.

"Accept, dear Father Stanton, the heartfelt gratitude and prayers of us all, of those of us whom you know personally, and of many more whom you can never know; and believe us to remain,

"Your greatly obliged and affectionate friends."

It should be remembered that the Address was drawn up for a much simpler purpose than that which it ultimately served. It was for the "Monday Evening men," and the first two or three hundred signatures were exclusively theirs. In time, however, the rumour of the proposal spread, and other men who were not within reach of St. Alban's, Holborn, but who counted themselves deeply indebted to Father Stanton, asked to be allowed to join with the promoters in an expression of love and gratitude. This was felt to be only reasonable.

The difficulty now was how to make the Address known to this wider, almost world-wide, circle of men, and this difficulty was in the event only partly overcome. For, large as were the number of signatures (over 3600), there were still many, not only in England but beyond, and especially in America, who would, assuredly, have wished to sign, but who did not even know of the existence of the Address. A dropping fire of signatures followed the announcement that the list was closed.

Quite early in the course of proceedings it was debated whether or no some gifts of a suitable sort should go with the Address, but after some discussion it was agreed that, in the first instance,

no appeal for contributions should accompany the invitation to sign. Mr. Stanton had many friends among those to whom even pence are a serious consideration, and it was felt that he would deprecate any appeal, direct or indirect, to such as these. When, however, the signatures had in great part come in, the promoters of the scheme felt that they were at liberty to invite any who were disposed, and able, to send a donation, small or great, not with the aim of securing a large sum, but simply of raising enough to cover the cost of one or two things which Mr. Stanton might like to have for use and for remembrance. The money came in almost at once, and with it the various objects were purchased which were presented at the meeting.

## THE PRESENTATION

The day announced for the Presentation was June 26th, 1907, at 8 P.M., the Chairman, Mr. George W. E. Russell, and the place of meeting, the Holborn Town Hall. Long before the advertised hour a queue of men stretched from the door, along Gray's Inn Road, waiting patiently, and at the opening of the doors poured into the Hall, and soon filled every one of the 650 chairs, leaving about a hundred to stand at the end or the sides.

The platform was decorated with festoons of evergreens and roses; baskets of flowers hung between each festoon, which were tied up with knots of ribbon, blue and gold, the colours of the shield of St. Alban's Abbey. Tall palms and sprays of foxglove and blue larkspur closed in the

ends, and a line of roses and Canterbury Bells ran round the edge. Above the wreaths and their white background was the following inscription, on white calico, framed with leaves and flowers:

> ". . . A friend to truth! of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honour clear;
> Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
> Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend."

The words are taken from Pope's eulogy of his friend Addison.[1]

The order and comfort of the meeting were entrusted to fourteen Stewards, recognizable by their blue-and-gold rosettes, and each of the Stewards represented some association with Father Stanton. Gloucestershire was represented by Mr. R. B. Abell; Rugby by Mr. J. L. Pirie (who shared his study at the School, unfortunately absent); Oxford by Mr. Philip Sidney; Cuddesdon by Mr. Hugh Embling; the Brothers of Jesus of Nazareth, by Bro. Denne; St. Martin's Postmen's League by Mr. Walter Schröder, and the following Postmen—Mr. Peach, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Browning, and Mr. Grace; the Nonconformists by Mr. Finbow; the Churchwardens by Mr. F. Gill and Mr. H. Longden; and the Sidesmen by Mr. Alison, Mr. Wrentmore, and Mr. Williams.

Within a few minutes after the opening of the doors, the Orchestra, under the direction of Mr. T. Adams (the Organist of St. Alban's), began to play, and played until the meeting began. Between the pieces the whole audience, led by the men of

[1] The singular appositeness of this quotation was remarked by everybody. It was suggested by one of the Churchwardens, Mr. F. E. Sidney.

St. Alban's Choir, sang hymns, with the band accompanying. The time passed rapidly, and, punctually to the moment, the Chairman with Father Stanton came upon the platform, followed by the Mayor of Holborn and the speakers. At the appearance of Father Stanton the whole audience rose, and waving their programmes, cheered him again and again with great enthusiasm.

Mr. George W. E. Russell, on taking the Chair, said: "Men and brethren, this is essentially a religious gathering—an assemblage of Catholic Churchmen—and I should like to begin the proceedings by asking you to recite the Nicene Creed."

The Nicene Creed was then said, and the hymn, "Faith of our Fathers," was sung.

The Chairman then announced that many letters had been received expressing the writers' regret at inability to attend. Among others was one from Father Hogg, who was undergoing treatment at a Nursing-Home; another from the Rev. C. Silvester Horne—(applause)—who wrote with all imaginable goodwill, adding, "I signed the Address to Father Stanton with the greatest pleasure, in token of my appreciation of his social work." Lord Halifax—(applause)—wrote to say how deeply he regretted not being able "to give my personal expression of my deep sense of gratitude for all that the Church of England and we all owe to our very dear friend." Mr. F. A. Rogers, an old Council-man of St. Martin's League, wrote to testify to his affectionate regard for "the dear old Dad." Another came from "a sporting and agricultural gentleman in Derbyshire," who had not forgotten the Mission preached by Father Stanton more than

thirty years ago; and another was dated from Johannesburg.

*The Chairman.*—"I will now ask Father Suckling to make a few introductory observations."

*Father Suckling.*—"Mr. George Russell, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am placed here no doubt because this happens to be within the Parish of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn. I feel somewhat ashamed really to be here, because anybody who knows of this grand meeting would know that I have done very little, compared with—may I say (he would not like me to mention his name, but I will mention it) Father Russell? (Applause.) Therefore, by way of preface, as I am put down to say something by way of preface, I will say this: Our Address is of course not only from this parish, but it is from a large number of parishes, not only in London, but up and down the country, which have been indebted to Father Stanton for his broadcast sowing of the seed of the Gospel; and we are gathered together here, representatives of those parishes no doubt, for that very purpose, in token of our common affection and gratitude. (Applause.) If that is the case, and this large assembly represents some of the parishes which owe a vast debt of gratitude to him, I may venture to say that I think that chief amongst those parishes should be the Parish of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn. (Applause.) I will tell you why. First, because, if Father Stanton has done anything, the chief work that he has done has been in this parish. Secondly, I am quite sure that where Father Stanton's name is known, throughout England and throughout the world, it is always coupled with

the name of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn. And then, if anybody ought to know anything about him, I suppose I must be one of those who would be bound to know a great deal about him. I have known him—I have been trying to think back, and I fancy the first time I met him was in 1860. That is a long time. But there are three things which, according to an American writer, would really make the knowledge of a person worth having. They are these. First, says this American writer, 'Have you travelled with that individual?'—I have. (Laughter.) Second, 'Have you lived with him?' And I answer—I have. (Applause.) The third, says this writer, is the most important, because it is very often a test by which many persons fall, and that is: 'Have you had any money transactions with him?' (Great laughter.) And to this also I answer—I have. Now, having been in those three positions, I want to bear my unhesitating testimony, and say how fully in accord I am with this splendid meeting in trying to do the utmost honour to him—we cannot do too much. I had rather be in my own shoes, though, than his to-night. (Laughter.) But I will just conclude by saying how heartily, as Vicar of this parish, I am in sympathy with all that is being done and said to-night." (Applause.)

*The Chairman.*—"I hold in my hands the Address which we are assembled here to present. I need not read it to you, because you have all signed it, and you are familiar with the terms of it. I will not read it to Father Stanton, because I know he would shrink from hearing in public the just language of eulogy which it contains. I therefore

only place it in his hands, asking him to accept it with our love—(loud cheering)—and with it the Despatch-Box which contains the actual signatures."

A great storm of cheering having subsided, Mr. Russell proceeded: "Of the other gifts which we shall offer later, I will speak at the conclusion of my address. Men and brethren, I thank you with all my heart for the kindness which you have done me in allowing me to be to-night the medium through which the assurance of your love and loyalty and gratitude goes out to Father Stanton. (Applause.) I said just now that I would not read the terms of the Address, because I thought that perhaps Father Stanton would shrink from hearing so much eulogy in public. Now I am going to violate the very rule which I seemed to lay down. It is a commonplace of gatherings of this kind for him who makes the presentation to say, in words or in effect, 'I will not say before our friend's face what I should say behind his back.' (Laughter.) But no such subterfuge will avail to-night. I am here to say something, though it be barely a tenth part, of what is in the hearts of all of us. There is one Shakespearean tag, almost better known than any other, which says that 'We come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.' I venture to invert the order of the tag. I say that we have come to praise our Cæsar, not to bury him—please God—(applause)—for many a long year to come.

"If it were not that we intend thus, in his presence and before his face, to testify what we feel, I hardly know why we should have come together—why such labour and successful pains should have been bestowed on the organization of

this gathering; we might just as well have sent an Address by post—though it would have been a little over-weight—(laughter)—and have handed in the larger gifts at the door of St. Alban's Clergy House. But we felt that no such unceremonious way of treating the occasion would be fitting, and we have gathered, in these satisfactory, and almost overwhelming, numbers, to tell our friend to his face the reasons—or some of the reasons—why we hold him in such veneration and affection.

"I believe that there are present here to-night some whose acquaintance with Father Stanton runs back to a date long anterior to my own, but they must be few. In the year 1871 a Harrow boy, tired, perhaps, of that undogmatic religion which is beloved of all Public Schools—(laughter)—of his own free choice, and without any intervention or advice, placed himself, while still a schoolboy, under the spiritual guidance of Father Stanton. That Harrow boy is no longer a boy; he is the chairman of to-night's meeting. (Applause.) He looks back over all those years to the day when he first was brought into personal relations with Father Stanton, and he esteems it as one of the happiest and most profitable days of his life. And what he feels, countless other men, old and young, through all the intervening years have felt; as may be witnessed by anyone who chooses to attend the Sunday High Mass at St. Alban's, and sees the crowd—not of mere listeners attracted by itching ears, but of devout and respectful and intelligent learners, who Sunday after Sunday through all this time have hung upon the 'lessons of life and godliness' which Father Stanton has delivered

from the pulpit of St. Alban's church. (Applause.) I have said it before, and I say it again, that I, born and bred an Evangelical, an Evangelical to the backbone, have never heard the free and simple Gospel of Jesus Christ set forth with more unhesitating plainness or persuasive force than by our friend here, and from the pulpit of St. Alban's. (Applause.)

"Something not very far short of 4000 men have signed this Address in order to testify their affectionate gratitude. (Applause.) It is a common complaint—we hear it everywhere up and down England—that it is difficult to get men to Church. In some places they go even further, and say it is impossible to get men to Church, and that you must give up Church to women and boys. The remedy for that state of things—if, indeed, it exists—is to multiply Stantons. (Applause.) I see that that sentiment is shared by you gentlemen who fill this hall, and I hope it is not unacceptable to the ladies in the gallery. (Laughter and applause.)

"But there are other people who seem to regard Father Stanton and his work in a different light. Not long ago I read with some care, and not a little amusement, the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. (Loud laughter.) I found, amongst a great deal else that was interesting, a statement that the Commissioners 'have difficulty in understanding' why Mr. Stanton has been, under several successive Bishops of London, still allowed to officiate at St. Alban's, Holborn. (Renewed laughter.) These grave and learned men 'have difficulty in understanding' what to us

is plain enough. It would be a work of charity and mercy if we were to try and enlighten them. Let me, therefore, tell them, as plainly as I can, the reason why all these years Father Stanton has continued, under successive Bishops, to officiate at St. Alban's. It is the fact that it is very well known that any attempt to harass him, or to interfere with the exercise of his ministry, would arouse such an agitation as would penetrate to the quiet lawns of Fulham Palace—(prolonged cheering)—which might shake the Lollards' Tower at Lambeth Palace—(cheers)—and might even administer uncomfortable shocks to that idol of Establishment, to which Anglican Bishops are inclined to pay an almost superstitious worship. (Renewed cheering.)

"With the best will in the world to be respectful to my superiors and just to all men, I cannot help feeling that this remark in the Report of the Royal Commission was intended as a twofold insult. It was an insult to our friend who sits on my right, and it was an insult to the excellent Bishop who now presides over the See of London. (Applause.) As Christian men and ministers of the Gospel, the Bishop and Mr. Stanton would not wish that insult to be avenged; but our answer to it is the gathering of to-night. (Applause.)

"Now I come to the conclusion of my business. In a moment I shall ask Father Stanton to accept at our hands a picture of that glorious Cathedral in which he was admitted to the priesthood; a picture of the Altar at which during all these years he has exercised that priesthood; and this Chalice and the accompanying Paten, which we hope for

many a long year to come may be associated with his ministry at the Altar of St. Alban's." (Applause.)

Mr. Russell then presented the gifts, with the following words: "And now, reverend Father, dear and honoured friend, we ask you to accept these gifts; and we also ask that you will sometimes remember the givers when you offer the Holy Things in the Holy Place. And, when the changes and chances, when the joys and sorrows, of this chequered life are over, may we all meet once more, and meet for ever, in the eternal blessedness.

'Fame is a fleeting breath;
Hopes may be false or fond:
Love shall be love till death—
And perhaps beyond.'"

*The Chairman.*—"I will now call upon Father Stanton to reply."

*Father Stanton.*—"Mr. Chairman, fellow-men, I want just to thank you all for your presence here to-night, and for your beautiful presents. As regards the pictures, I should like you to know that they are done by an artist who, I think, is the very best artist for drawing dear old London that London possesses.[1] About this beautiful chalice, I should like to say this: it is a beautiful Renaissance chalice, and it shall be used, I hope, at St. Alban's at High Mass on great festivals, and as I use it I hope to remember you all and this occasion.

"Now in what I am going to say to you, I wish you to understand that I say it because it gives significance to this most extraordinary meeting. In the year 1862, Bishop Tait, just about this time

[1] Mr. W. Walcot.

of year, said to me, 'If, Stanton, you go to Mackonochie of St. Alban's, you must never expect any Church preferment.' I never have. (Great cheering.) It is perfectly true that one living, only one, has been offered to me, and that came from Chicago. It was a good living. It was £1000 a year, and a house, and all my expenses paid with American generosity. My refusal was on two grounds. First, I said, I was too old, for you cannot transplant a tree when it is of many years' growth. And secondly, I have made such a mess of it in the Anglican Church, that I could not go and make the same trouble in the American Church. (Renewed laughter.) No sooner was I ordained—while I was a Deacon—than my troubles began. A Scripture-Reader represented my teaching and action to Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, and made certain charges, which were so absurd in themselves, that Dr. Tait told me he could not consider them—only I was to look out, for they were watching me. (Laughter.) After I was ordained, two of the chaplains of a Garrison Town asked me to preach a Mission to the soldiers, which I did. I threw all my heart and soul into the Mission, and we had some success. But the dreadful thing about the Mission was this, that some few of the soldiers came to Confession and Communion, and—as was reported in a city church, when the Archdeacon asked whether any availed themselves of the privilege of private prayer in the church, which was open for the purpose, the verger said, 'Not many, but,' he added, 'I "ketched" two at it once'—(great laughter)—so it happened at the Mission. Those who made

their confessions were, I suppose, 'ketched' at it. At any rate, it was reported to the Chaplain-General, who sent to me and told me that henceforth and for ever I was never to preach again in a Garrison Chapel.

"Well, I took this very much to heart, for I had put all my soul into the Mission. And then, for the first time, I asked myself, 'Am I right in ministering at all in the Established Church?' Then came to my rescue the kindness, the consideration, of my people at St. Alban's, Holborn. It healed the wound, and I went on again.

"Then, as some of you know, there came another great trial to me. Forgive me speaking about myself, but it emphasizes the reason of your being here. Mr. Mackonochie was suspended, and that brought me into direct relations, as Curate in Charge, with the Bishop, who ordered that nothing should be worn at Divine service over the cassock but the surplice, and we at St. Alban's went to Mass every Sunday at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane. I don't know why it was, but that seemed to be a very wicked thing to do, and the Press made it rather hot for me, because they talked about a wily curate having got round a poor simple Bishop. (Loud laughter.) After that I was continually prohibited or inhibited. The Bishop of London prohibited me from preaching anywhere but at St. Alban's; the Bishop of Gloucester inhibited me; the Bishop of Rochester inhibited me. (The Chairman: 'Llandaff.') Yes, the Bishop of Llandaff as well. I remember sitting round a table one day, when we at St. Alban's asked ourselves plainly this question, 'Can we go on?' 'Is it

possible?' And then again the old thing came back—the consideration and the love and the help of the people who supported us; and on we went again. (Applause.)

"But, mind you, never from that moment have I preached a Mission, and never taken a Retreat. I never could think again that I should consider myself a prophet in the Anglican Israel. I felt I must keep as quiet as I could, and do all that I could for St. Alban's, Holborn, and that was to be my ministry. Mind you, I could give a Retreat, you know. (Laughter). At the last one I ever took I had sixty old women, and the food was very good, and the weather was very hot, and we were very sleepy; so I made the Retreat as lively as I could to keep 'em awake. When it was over a Sister asked one of the old women, 'How did you like the Reverend Father's Retreat?' 'Oh,' she said, 'it was beautiful; it was better than the "theayter."' (Roars of laughter.) I tell you that story to show you that it was not from any inability, but I did not wish after what had been done in any sense to come forward as a prophet in Israel. I have never stood on a polemical platform since that.

"Then, you know, I threw myself with all my heart and soul into my Postmen's League. (Applause.) People didn't quite understand why it was the League was rather social than clerical, and I got a little soured by the perpetual religious controversy; but the kindness and friendliness of the old St. Martin's League put me right again.[1] Well, then, the next trouble that came upon me, when I thought everything was going on all right,

[1] See Appendix IV.

when everybody was kind to me, and all you people came to my Monday Evening services—(applause)—there is one thing I hope you will never forget; there is nothing so inspiring to a man as to meet his fellow-men in this way—everything was going well till one evening, when I was taking a class, I was told a reporter wanted to see me. I went down, and he said, 'Have you heard about the Royal Commission?' I said: 'Well, I have heard about it, but I don't care anything about it.' (Laughter and applause.) Then three more came, and I began to get a little irritated. One shouted up: 'Well, but supposing they turn you out of the Church, what are you going to do?' And then I *did* shout down: 'Sell cats'-meat.' (Loud laughter.)

"Well, of course, as you know, the Bishop of London sent for me. He was exceedingly kind. It never entered into his head for one moment to take away my licence—(applause)—and he knew perfectly well that, as far as I was concerned, he might throw me out to fill the maw of the Protestant wolf, rather than that he should be torn to pieces. He would not think of it for a moment. But he asked me to withdraw my name from the preface of the little book, *Catholic Prayers*, which, it seems, had brought me into trouble. Of course, I consented. But I did say this to him: 'You may think *Catholic Prayers* disloyal to the principles of the Reformation and to the Advertisements of Elizabeth, but this I will say to you about the book—there is not one single word in it against the inspiration of the Word of God—(applause)—there is not one

word in it against the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary—(applause)—there is not one word in it against the Atonement of our Blessed Lord and Saviour on the Cross, or His Resurrection; nor is there a word in it against the Sacraments or the Saints.' (Applause.)

"But, of course, I could not help feeling it, and sometimes, as the shadows of life begin to gather round me, I ask myself, as every man in my place would ask himself, 'Well, now, *am* I right? Why should I be right and the others wrong?' There are always moments when a man asks himself those questions when he has passed through vicissitudes like those I have named, and been inhibited over and over again.

"And so it is that a meeting like this is an assurance which I shall carry with me to my very end. (Prolonged applause.) Mind you, there is nothing in the whole world like flesh and blood to help a man on, and a living heart of love. This is a remarkable meeting, and you must account for it. There you are come together; and here am I—nothing but a miserable curate. ('No, no,' and laughter.) Why should you come? I have not 'kidded' you. (Laughter.) What is it? I will tell you what it is.

"Don't make any mistake. Why are you here like this, to do me this honour and to show your love for me? It is because God has given me something better than emolument and far better than position. God has given to me, blessed be His Holy Name, the love of my fellow-men. (Applause.) And *Amor vincit omnia*—love conquers everything—and the one verse in God's Holy

Word that I pick out, which I should like to be written over my grave, is this: 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' (Applause.) Those words lie at the bottom of all credal and social difficulties and differences, to unite all men together. It is blood and heart that make men one; for love ever, as you can see it to-night, is reciprocal, and the words I should like to end with are Lowell's:

'He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race.

God works for all. Ye cannot hem the hope of being free
With parallels of latitude, with mountain-range or sea;
Put golden padlocks on Truth's lips, be callous as ye will,
From soul to soul, o'er all the world, leaps one electric thrill.'

"So I end with the words of St. Paul, in the Fourth Chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians: 'Therefore, my brethren' (do not forget the *my*), 'dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved.'" (Prolonged applause.)

Here a photograph of the platform was taken, and Mr. Robert Grice sang "Father O'Flynn," the audience joining heartily in the chorus.

*The Chairman.*—"I have peculiar pleasure in calling upon the next speaker, for, if I am rightly informed, he was the originator of the movement which has culminated in the proceedings of to-night. I call upon Sir John Buchanan-Riddell."

*Sir John Buchanan-Riddell.*—"I represent three sets of people; first, the Committee, and I must say two members of that Committee ought to have spoken—Father Russell and Mr. Sidney—but they are too modest to allow themselves to be put on the programme. Then I represent the men who so greatly value Father Stanton's addresses in August, Advent, and Lent. Perhaps I may say that anybody who has not attended one of Father Stanton's 'Mondays' is received here only as a visitor to-night. The idea originated among those men. What I really wish is, that every member of the Royal Commission could be made to come; for we think that it would be a good thing to get them there, and perhaps afterwards they would come and do penance at St. Alban's. I hope everybody who is here to-night will feel it his duty, if he has not been before, to come and hear one of those sermons.

"Then the parishes. I represent one of many congregations who remember, and look forward year after year to Father Stanton's coming among us to preach. I well remember at one time he used to preach, as some of you know, on one single word, and I remember him preaching on the word 'Nevertheless.' Though it was preached many years ago, I can remember much of that sermon now. It shows how his sermons do touch people. The first question always is, as our

Festivals come round, 'Is Father Stanton coming?' He comes again and again to the same places, and always lives in our affection.

'We are here to-night to do a popular thing, in testifying our love to the most popular man we have in the Catholic Movement in the Church of England. I make way for my friend Father Spurr—Mr. Spurr, I mean—with the greatest possible pleasure. In coming here he is doing a noble, generous, and kind thing, which is encouraging in every way, and shows what Christian toleration and charity and love do lead us to, when we find men like Mr. Spurr coming to do honour to Father Stanton, and coming to his sermons and bringing others with him. He comes to testify to the good Father Stanton is doing and must do.

"You will allow me to say that, though all of us have known in various degrees the great love and affection that Father Stanton has for us men, some of us never quite realised how intensely deep that affection was till we stood by the side of him at the open grave of a dear friend two years ago."[1]

*The Chairman.*—"In the charity and goodwill of this evening, all ecclesiastical distinctions seem to be merged or forgotten, because I notice that Sir John Riddell referred to the reverend gentleman on my right as 'Father' Spurr. (Laughter and applause.) I enter with all my heart into what Sir John Riddell said about the evangelical charity which transcends all ecclesiastical differences. But I must ask 'Father' Spurr to restrain his

[1] The Rev. W. B. Hankey, Curate in Charge of St. Mary's, Graham Street.

eloquence for half a minute, because we are going to be photographed again."

A photograph of the audience having been taken, the Rev. F. C. Spurr, Minister of Maze Pond Baptist Church, delivered a generous eulogy of Father Stanton both as Man and as Preacher; and was followed by Mr. William Richards, who spoke as a native of the Parish, a working man, and a member of the Brotherhood of Jesus of Nazareth.

When Mr. Richards had finished his speech, the Chairman said: "I have this moment had placed in my hands a cablegram from America. It is short, sharp, and sweet: 'God bless him always.—Ben Greet.'" (Applause.)

The Churchwardens, Mr. Gill and Mr. Longden, then proposed and seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who in his reply laid stress on the presence of the Mayor of Holborn, as a most satisfactory proof of the relations between the Church of St. Alban's and the Municipality. He concluded thus:

"We began our meeting in a Christian way by reciting the grandest of all Catholic Creeds. We will bring it to an end, in a not less Christian way, by singing one of the most moving of Evangelical hymns." The hymn, "God be with you till we meet again," was then sung with deep emotion; Father Suckling gave the blessing, and Father Stanton, as he left the platform, turned round to the audience saying, "Good-night to you all."

At the close of the meeting, there were many who gathered round the platform to try and get a grip of Mr. Stanton's hand. His trials, however, did not end here, for, outside the Hall, in Gray's

Inn Road, a great crowd was waiting for him, which cheered him again and again, and followed him, still cheering, until from a quick walk he broke into a run, and gained at last the shelter of the Clergy House. Even here the crowd tried to bring him to his window, but in vain, and the day was over.

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IMPRESSIONS

"I am asked to give my 'impressions' of the gathering in Holborn Town Hall on Wednesday evening, June 26th, 1907; and the task is easy enough. It was the most successful gathering of the kind that I have ever seen. The organization was perfect. The business went with a swing from start to finish. There was not a solitary hitch, nor a dull moment, nor a discordant note. The atmosphere, though heavily charged with emotion, was radiant and joyous. Everyone was happy; everyone was in earnest; everyone meant every word he said. As far as I could judge, the speakers were in spiritual touch with the whole company of hearers, and spoke from heart to heart; while the hearers, on their part, supported the speakers, and bore them along by the force of a vivid and uplifting sympathy. I called it at the outset of the proceedings a religious gathering, and so it was; and, just because it was perfectly religious, it was frankly human. Deep in every heart was the consciousness that, by the good hand of our God upon us, we were allowed the opportunity, which so seldom comes, of telling a tried and loved and honoured friend, freely and to his face, something of what we had felt for him and had owed

to him for twenty and thirty and forty years. It was, in every sense of the words, *a night to be much observed*, and *observed unto the Lord*.

"Here perhaps a personal reminiscence may be admitted. A few years ago, I said in a letter to Mr. Stanton: 'If you were to die, you would have the most wonderful funeral that a clergyman ever had.' My special thankfulness is that we have been enabled to offer, not posthumous honours and unavailing tributes, but living love to a living friend.

"As I gazed upon the great assemblage, and felt what it must mean to him whose name had brought us together, there came back upon my memory some words which Mr. Gladstone wrote, years ago, upon a similar occasion, and which may well serve to epitomize and conclude my 'impressions' of the gathering: 'It makes the heart bound to feel that, even in this poor world, Truth and Justice sometimes claim their own; and I thank God that it has not been in the power of jealousy, or cowardice, or spite, "or any other" evil "creature" to detract one jot from the glory of that truly great ministry, the records of which have been written alike in the visible, outward, history of the Church, and in the fleshly tables of the heart of man.'"

G. W. E. R.

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POSTSCRIPT

"This record [1] of a memorable night is for friends. To a stranger it may seem an extravagance; to those who took part in it the meeting was, from

[1] The official record of the proceedings; published by W. Knott, Brooke Street, E.C.

first to last and in every detail of it, absolutely real, and all its words, words of truth and soberness. The seven hundred or more men who were there, representing five times as many who had signed the Address, were there to say straight out the love and gratitude they felt, and they said it.

"The short-hand report of the speeches has had the benefit of correction by the speakers themselves, who have, I am glad to say, altered nothing, but have let their words stand, without garnish, as they were spoken. But no report of what was said or done can convey to those who were not present any idea of the enthusiasm which filled the Hall that night, and which needed but the excuse of a word to break out again and again into rounds of applause. After all, it is not to be wondered at, for many grey heads were there who had known Father Stanton for many years, and all these years had carried about with them the weight of a great gratitude silently, with never a chance to tell him what they felt towards him. Now that the chance had come, is it wonderful that they should use it to the full? It was good to see and hear it all, good especially to hear them sing, with the deep, supporting music of the strings and drums, the Hymns, and the song of 'Old Acquaintance,' and the health to the

> 'Pow'rfulest preacher, and tinderest teacher,
> And kindliest creature in ould Donegal.'

"To the one in whose honour we had met it must have been a trying ordeal: to many, many of his friends it was—they have said so—one of the happiest and most inspiring moments of their life.

"Now that it is all over, and the music, and the cheering have died away, and life returns once more to its normal temperature and level, what fruit remains to us of all that happened on that night? Well this, I think, amongst many other things: Father Stanton has himself told us that the world has no sweeter reward to offer a man than the love of his fellow-men. Hitherto he may have had reason—more reason perhaps than most men—to suspect, to hope, that that love was given to him; but now—*he knows it;* and we, his friends, are happy, knowing that at last—thank God—he knows it." E. F. R.

*July* 1907.

*N.B.*—For the materials of this chapter the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. E. F. Russell.

# CHAPTER XIII

## THE SOURCE AND THE STREAM

"This day, as I believe, the Blessed Sacrament has been in the church before our eyes, and what can you or I desire more?"—J. H. SHORTHOUSE.

WE all know, by observation and experience, that where the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar is made the central point of devotion Its influence is incalculably diffusive. Like the Supreme Power of which It is an energy, It

> "Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent."[1]

From the day when St. Alban's Church was consecrated even until now, the Blessed Sacrament has been the heart by which it lived, and the centre from which its activities proceeded. Its trials and troubles, not less than its blessings and glories, have sprung from its Eucharistic worship, and its Altar has been, in more senses than one, a shrine of sacrifice. The life of St. Alban's has been a Eucharistic life; and for the characteristics of that life, wherever it is found, we may go to a living theologian:[2]

"First, it is marked by a wonderful *Awe*, and that awe is the more wonderful because familiarity seems to replenish it, instead of dissolving or disturbing. The man who has realized the secret of

[1] Pope, *Essay on Man.*

[2] The Rev. H. S. Holland, D.D.

life in the Blessed Sacrament insists on constant nearness to It; he surrounds It with incessant attention, with the routine of order and regular service, with accurate rules of preparation, with formal methods of intimacy. He himself is felt to be living, year by year, and day by day, in unfailing and familiar intercourse with Its grace. It is to him necessary and near as his daily food. It has all the common and unquestioned frequency of air, and earth, and sky. Yet ever his awe and wonder grow. Nothing ceases of the hushed and thrilling rapture which belongs to strange surprises, to unanticipated discoveries, to sudden initiations. Nay, his reverence, his humiliation, his trembling, his fear, all seem to increase with the increase of familiarity; there is ever in his voice the sound of searching alarm, the sense of the Fire about the Mount, into which no unclean thing may enter lest it be consumed. That Altar, near and dear as it is, is ring'd round to him with unflagging terrors; his tones shake, his knees bow, his soul quivers, with the same wonderful awe as that with which a young child kneels, for the first time, in the hush of some still sanctuary, and hears the murmuring words of the priest who bends over him to lay, in the child-hands uplifted, the adorable Gift over which the bowing Angels stoop, and gaze, and adore. It does not surprise us that Moses, when he looked and saw in sudden amazement the Bush that flamed before him unconsumed, should turn aside, and take his shoes from off his feet, and hasten to bow his head to the ground; but it is most wonderful to us, with our shallow emotions and jaded hearts, to see that, at the end of the years, there should be those who still, as

the Bush burns on continually, can hasten with untarnished freshness of soul to bow the head and worship, as fearfully and as tremblingly as when first they turned aside to see the strange sight. Awe can only abide when deep answers unto deep.

"Then in the second place, we must observe the *Spirituality* of this Sacramentalism. Surely it should be impossible for anyone to indulge in crude contrasts between the carnal form and the inward spirit, or between technical dogmatism and the living faith. Everyone can see that the entire belief rests on the robust reality of the actual event, which takes place on this or that Altar, through the mediation of a consecrated formula, used with exact ritualistic definiteness, over earthly elements that have been duly presented before God, and in the sight of the people, in literal obedience to sanctioned usage. And, yet, the external and formal fact glows through and through with the warmth of a heartfelt devotion, as a coal filled full with the splendour of flame. The outward form intensifies the heat. It supplies it with scope, and radiation, and vent. It feeds it with fuel. The flame leaps and rejoices, just because the material is given; it knows a new strength, it glows with a new ardour, as it lays hold of this external matter, and fills it, and inhabits it, and absorbs it. A fire lives on the fuel given; and, to the flame of adoration, Sacramental fact is the fuel that feeds.

"Lastly, we should note that it is this explicitness of apprehension which causes the third characteristic of Eucharistic devotion—its marvellous *Richness*. The inner strength of the faith, which has been

enabled to emerge, and to lay hold of its objective material, and to develope its distinct impression, exhibits itself in the fulness and the variety with which it can apply itself to the whole round of practical life, and make use of the entire wealth of the imagination and the emotions. Through devotion to the Eucharist, everything seems to become Eucharistic; everywhere the Sacramental blessing reaches. Look at the sun as it shines on all things, how in each it gives a new colour, and wakes a new revelation. It is on the flowers, and they leap into blue, and scarlet, and yellow. It is on the waters, and they shimmer and glisten. It is on the far hills, and they are steeped in the glow of purple and grey. It is the same light, yet for each object it is a new and differing glory. So, in the Eucharistic life, we are always in face of one thought—the thought of that Most Blessed Presence under the forms of Bread and Wine—yet ever the thought offers novel variety of guidance, of direction, of illumination: ever it prompts a new motion of the desires, a new effort of the will, a new hope of the affections. So it is that we learn something of the unfading efficacy of the Sacramental theology—the unfailing attraction of the Sacramental life—why it is that all other forms of adoration and communion, however real, appear imperfect, partial, inadequate, thin, meagre, shadowy, to those who have once felt this abundance, and have tasted of Its treasures, and have sat at Its feasts."

I have adapted these words of a loved and honoured teacher, because I know no others which could so perfectly express the devotional life of St.

Alban's. They are epitomized in the heading of this chapter. In the constant realization of "that Most Blessed Presence, under the forms of Bread and Wine," we have the Source. In "the fulness and variety with which it can apply itself to the whole round of practical life," we see the stream.

The application of the temper nurtured by Eucharistic Communion to "the whole round of practical life," has been from first to last one of the most striking features of St. Alban's. It has produced that ardent love of souls which we have seen recognized, even by opponents, and which has made the life of its clergy a living epistle, known and read of all men. But St. Alban's has not dealt only with the things of the spirit. It has realized the tripartite composition of man, and has ministered to intellects and bodies as well as souls. In days when "the Better Housing of the Poor" was little accounted of, Mr. Mackonochie laboured, amid multifarious discouragements, to abolish slums and rookeries, and to promote morality by a crusade against overcrowding. He approached the holy war in the spirit, and almost in the words, of Charles Kingsley :

"How dare you, in the face of that Baptismal sign of the sprinkled water, keep God's children exposed to filth, brutality, and temptation, which festers in your courts and alleys, making cleanliness impossible, drunkenness all but excusable, prostitution all but natural, self-respect and decency unknown? In that Font is a witness for education and for sanitary reform, which will conquer with the might of an archangel, when every other argument has failed to prove that the masses are after

all not mere machines, or 'hands' to be used up in the production of a wealth of which they never taste, with their numbers as far as possible kept down by economical and prudent rulers, to the market-demand for members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven."

Again, the provision of cheap and wholesome food has been only a small part of the ministry to the body; yet a most real service, and too often contemned. Education, with all the possibilities which it opens up for the humblest and the poorest, has claimed a full share of attention, and the schools have been as carefully tended as the church. Innocent recreation and social intercourse have been generously encouraged: the best fruits of culture and art and travel have been presented, in intelligible forms, by Lectures and Penny Readings; and, in brief, there has been a sustained and many-sided effort to make the lives of the poor brighter, sweeter, and more humane.

An attempt to describe the "Ethos" of St. Alban's would indeed be glaringly incomplete if it failed to notice the Social character of the church and its surroundings. The church is, so to say, the centre of a Society or Sodality; differences of worldly station and political opinion have always been wonderfully merged in the sense of a common life. Here again the influence of the Blessed Sacrament is unmistakably at work. Those who share the One Bread and the One Cup are united in membership of the One Body; and this, which should be the ideal of Communion everywhere, but is too often ignored, has been realized at St. Alban's. The sense of Brotherhood and Equality, not less than the allied sense of Freedom, seems to

pervade the devotional atmosphere. In days long anterior to the Catholic Revival, and when even Christian men had forgotten the supremacy of the Eucharist, a writer, little touched by ecclesiasticism, testified thus: "Every time Social Worship is celebrated, it includes a virtual declaration of the Rights of Man."[1] Fifty years later Charles Kingsley spoke thus, in a memorable and much-censured sermon:

"I assert that the business for which God sends a Christian priest to a Christian nation is to preach and practise Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood, in the fullest, deepest, widest, simplest meaning of these three great words: that, in as far as he so does, he is a true priest, doing his Lord's work, with his Lord's blessing on him: that in as far as he does not, he is no priest at all, but a traitor to God and man; and that if he perseveres in his mistake—and a wilful mistake it must be—about his own work, the Lord of that priest will come in an hour when he is not aware, and in a way that he thinketh not of, and will, in fearful literalness, cut him asunder! and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers, where will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

"I assert this in solemn earnest. I believe that the awful words which I have just spoken mean far more than I can conceive. I believe that they apply to me as much as to any one else: that in saying them I have testified against myself, and called down on my own head the curse of God, if I do not preach the message of God. But I must do so. I must confess the truth, and give every man here a handle against me, on the strength

[1] A. L. Barbauld.

of the words which I have chosen for my text.[1] I say those words express the very pith and marrow of a priest's business. I say that they preach Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood to the poor and rich for ever and ever.

. . . . . .

"What, my friends, is the message of the Lord's Supper? What more distinct sign and pledge that all men are equal? Wherever in the world there may be inequality, it ceases there. One table, one reverential posture, one Bread, one Wine, for high and low, for wise and foolish. That Sacrament proclaims that all alike are brothers of each other, because they are all alike brothers of One—and He, the son of a village maiden; that Sacrament proclaims that all are equally His debtors —all equally in need of the pardon which He has bought for them—and that that pardon is equally ready and free to all of them. That Sacrament proclaims that they all equally draw from Him their life, their health, their every strength and faculty of body, mind, and heart. All, therefore, equally bound to live for Him, and therefore for those whom He loved, for whom He laboured, and for whom He died—for whom He lives and reigns for ever—whose every suffering, and oppression, and neglect He will avenge to the uttermost in the day of His wrath—in a word, for the people. That Sacrament has told me, Men are thy brothers still. God has made them so; and thou canst not unmake it. Oh, my dear friends, if the heartfelt experience of one man can bring home to your minds the power of that blessed Sign, hear me,

[1] St. Luke iv. 16–21.

this night, and believe me, when I tell you, in the hearing of God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Poor Man—that to this Blessed Sacrament and pledge of brotherhood, I at least owe all the little lukewarm love for the people, which I do trust and hope I feel. When I have been proud, it has humbled me, and said to me, These toilsome labourers, and stunted drudges, are as great in God's sight—greater, for aught thou knowest, than thou. When I have been selfishly superstitious, it has said to me, Think thou not of thyself alone, in the presence of the Father of all, Whose mercy is over all His works. Thou must worship with thy brothers; thou must claim teaching, light, life, only as a member of a body, or thou shalt have none of it. When I have been inclined to enjoy myself at ease, and let the world run past me, heedless of its moans, Sunday after Sunday has that beloved Sacrament rebuked me, and seemed to say to me with the voice of the Poor Man of Nazareth Himself, Look what God would have these poor creatures be, and look what they are. Art thou not living in a lie, fighting against Him whom thou professest to serve, if thou dost not devote thy every energy to give them those blessings of the Kingdom of God, of which they here have claimed their share, to educate, civilise, deliver them in body, mind, and heart?"

Here again we see the Eucharist working, with Its supernatural power, for Social Brotherhood; and yet one more quotation may be added. The story of *Tom Brown*—to the full as much a man's book as a boy's—leaves the hero kneeling in solitary grief at the Altar of Rugby Chapel, beneath which

his great Master has just been buried—and "where better could we leave him, than at the Altar before which he first caught a glimpse of the glory of his birthright, and felt the drawing of the bond which links all living souls together in one brotherhood—at the grave of him who had opened his eyes to see that glory, and softened his heart to feel that bond?"

It seems to the present writer that these words, though written with a quite different reference, exactly express the Social Gospel of St. Alban's.

It is interesting to find that, in quite early days, the Social work of the St. Alban's clergy was recognized in very unecclesiastical quarters. In 1867, the Holborn Branch of the Reform League (founded to promote Household Suffrage) asked for a special Service in St. Alban's Church, and this was held on Sunday afternoon, the 28th of April. Mackonochie preached from St. John i. 14, exhorting the citizens to fashion their lives according to the Life of the Divine Workman of Nazareth. "The sermon," said a contemporary observer, "was devoid of political allusions." *Good Words* for July 1868 said, in the course of a very sympathetic account of St. Alban's, "When the Reform Leaguers marched with their banners from Clerkenwell Green to St. Alban's Church, the only reason they could assign for their procession was that they believed Mr. Mackonochie to be 'a Friend of the People.'"

So far, we have spoken of the work done for humanity within the Parish; but the "diffusive" character of the Eucharistic life which we noted at the outset has been conspicuously manifested

in the exterior activities of St. Alban's. In the first place, there was Mackonochie, who, though pressed beyond measure by parochial cares and the torments of litigation, yet found time to be Master of the Society of the Holy Cross, a leader of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and for twenty years Warden and Chaplain of St. Saviour's Priory, Haggerston. The service that he rendered there is thus described by the Mother Superior: "He helped in, and arranged, every detail of plan and work, and through all his own labours and troubles he came over to the Priory several times each week, bright, patient and cheery; putting aside his own great anxieties, he was ready to listen to every little worry and difficulty of the Sisters of Haggerston. . . . He lived so entirely in the presence of God and the Company of Heaven that every little detail and interest, because it was in God's sight, became of great interest to him. Does one not recall the sight of him walking through the dingy streets which lie between St. Alban's and St. Saviour's Priory, with his Office-Book under his arm; in his shabby hat and well-worn coat, wrapped in the devotions which the little spare time of the walk gave him?"

In the Society of the Holy Cross and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, as well as in the charge of the Parish, Mackonochie was succeeded by Mr. Suckling, who also became Warden of the Priory at Ascot in succession to Dr. Pusey. Mr. Hogg, who joined the staff in 1874, succeeded Mackonochie as Chaplain at St. Saviour's; founded the Guild of St. Edmund for the benefit of Teachers in Board Schools; and

has acted as Chairman of a large school under the London County Council in Clerkenwell.[1]

Mr. Stanton (besides preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom wherever the Bishop would suffer him) founded St. Martin's League, with the object of uniting the London Postmen in a bond of Christian living and good fellowship.[2] Though not, as a rule, successful in winning Episcopal approval, Mr. Stanton secured for this particular work the emphatic praise of Archbishop Tait, who wrote thus in his diary for the 26th of February 1882: "To-day I have preached at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields to 500 postmen who form 'St. Martin's League.' Stanton deserves immense credit for getting together these young men. Sad that there should be such quarrels in the Church, and that men like Stanton should be mixed up in them." In the course of his sermon the Archbishop said:

"One word as to the name of your Society, 'St. Martin's League.' I do not know whether there is any thought of the old legend of St. Martin and his cloak, and that you, like him, are ready to give one half of the good things with which God has supplied you, if by any means you may help others who are less privileged than yourselves. But you take your name really from St. Martin's-le-Grand. It was so called because, from the Conquest to the time of Henry VIII., there was a great monastery, and a Sanctuary which spoke of Christian kindness and mercy in those dark ages when violence stalked unrestrained abroad. All the old ecclesiastical buildings that stood in

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] See Appendix IV.

St. Martin's-le-Grand are long since gone. There is the centre of the busiest part of our life, communicating with every portion of the habitable globe. But is there anything to prevent that great mart of the world's industry from being as truly a centre of religion as were the old ecclesiastical buildings which they superseded? If Christ is honoured, He will be honoured in the mart of commerce and in the hurry and din of the Post Office as much as in any church. God grant that you, associating yourselves together in the name of Christ and helping one another for Christ's sake, may be the means of strengthening every Christian influence in the midst of the hurry and business of this greatest commercial city in the world."

The history of St. Alban's, following the facts as they occurred, has of necessity brought into prominence the names of Mackonochie, Stanton, and Suckling. But this would be a most unworthy record if it ignored the devoted but unobtrusive labours of other men who from year to year served under the two Vicars, or, as it might be more properly said, served with them in the common cause.[1] These men brought various gifts and graces to the work, and pursued it for various lengths of time, and with varying measure of popular recognition. But, as George Eliot said, and Dr. Liddon repeated after her: "The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not as ill with you and me as they might have been is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and now rest in unvisited tombs."

[1] See Appendix I.

Among these most true but self-effacing servants of the Cross, the author cannot forbear to mention the Rev. Edward Francis Russell, who after graduating at Trinity College, Cambridge, and studying theology at Cuddesdon, joined the staff of St. Alban's in Lent 1867. The old *John Bull*, reprehending some early and too Liberal utterance of Mr. Russell, observed with acrimony that he was "a relative of the author of the 'Durham Letter.'"[1] He is also a "relative" of the present writer; and this circumstance makes an attempt at personal description unseemly. But one or two incidents of his ministry may perhaps be introduced without offence.

Being early in his career convinced that the vocation of a Fisher of Men included care for the body as well as the soul, Mr. Russell determined to acquire some practical knowledge of medicine, and to take a Medical Degree, in addition to his Degree in Arts. With this end in view he became a pupil of Huxley's, and attended his lectures on Biology in 1876. He then became a Medical student at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and worked there till a severe illness warned him, and warned his doctors, that he could not manage this enormous and trying addition to his priestly work. But the time spent in the hospital was by no means thrown away; it brought him into close acquaintance with doctors, medical students, and nurses, and gave him a peculiar tact and judgment in the Ministry of the Sick Room. For the benefit of the Nurses, he

[1] On the 4th of November 1850, the *Times* published a letter from Lord John Russell to the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Maltby), in which the "Papal Aggression" was indignantly rebuked, and the Tractarian clergy were accused of "leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice."

helped Miss Antrobus to found the Guild of St. Barnabas, now numbering 5000 members, which he served devotedly as Chaplain, and as editor of the monthly paper *Misericordia*. But the interests of the body by no means distracted Mr. Russell from the concerns of the soul. He possessed in a peculiar degree that Missionary spirit which, far more truly than the doctrine of justification by faith, is the test of a standing or falling Church. Inspired by the friendship and example of Bishop Smythies, he threw himself with fervour into the work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, serving on its Council, and preaching for it wherever he saw an opening. It is worthy of note that the annual contribution made to the Mission by St. Alban's is the largest made by any Church in the country.

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And now, before this chapter closes, we must turn again to the place from whence we set forth—from the social enterprises of St. Alban's, and from its exterior activities, to the purely spiritual ministry which, after all, has been its chief glory through all these fifty years. I quote the description, given by an eye-witness in a provincial paper,[1] of what he saw and heard on Monday Evening, the 22nd of August 1910:

"Attracted by the reports of friends, I have been to St. Alban's, Holborn, to hear the Rev. Arthur Henry Stanton preach on one of his 'Popular Mondays.' An analysis of Mr. Stanton's character would here be out of place. I am concerned only with his qualities as a preacher.

[1] The *Manchester Guardian*.

To begin with, though no longer young, he is strikingly handsome. Then he is a natural orator, with all the orator's gifts of speech and voice and gesture, and can ring the changes on every phase of human emotion. And yet again he has a sense of humour which he allows to play with unfettered freedom round the subject of his discourse, and he can turn with the ease and lightness of a bird from grave to gay, and back again to graver.

"Every Monday in August (as also in Lent and Advent) Mr. Stanton holds a special service at eight o'clock in the evening in St. Alban's Church. What Puritans pleasantly call 'meretricious attractions' are utterly banished. The service is plain enough to satisfy Dr. Clifford. Even the choir is absent. Yet an hour before the appointed time a great company of men and women, old and young, is pouring up Brooke Street, or winding into the Church through the more devious paths of Baldwin's Gardens. By half-past seven the church—men's side and women's side alike—is full. A quarter of an hour later it is uncomfortably crowded. Every seat is occupied. Late-comers are driven into the chancel. All the choir-stalls are full. Rows of extra seats are brought in. Men who can find no room to stand or sit, crouch on the Altar-steps.

"As the clock strikes eight, Mr. Stanton climbs into the pulpit, huddling on his surplice as he goes. From the pulpit he conducts, in a slightly shortened form, the ordinary Evening Service of the Church. We read the Psalms, verse by verse, as if we were in some old-fashioned village church, untouched by the Ritualistic movement; but, when we come

to the *Magnificat*, 'Our Blessed Lady's own Song,' we sing it, as the preacher bids us, with a will. When the prayers are ended, we burst into a hymn —perhaps of Faber's type, perhaps of Sankey's; but, in either case, 'burst' is the right word; for the whole congregation sings with a fervour of devotion, pent-up but now liberated, and the great volume of male voices gives the singing a massiveness not usual in mixed congregations. Then Mr. Stanton rises from his knees, and begins to preach. His sermons are not easy to describe. They follow none of the conventions of the pulpit. They range widely over the broad field of faith and duty. The appeals to conscience are vivid and pointed; but they are interspersed with touches of humour and sarcasm which provoke a responsive sound dangerously like a laugh. Most notable is the preacher's wide-mindedness—his intense grasp of his own beliefs, his absolute charity towards those who do not share them, and his abounding humanity.

"Backwards and forwards he sways his graceful form, unbent and undisfigured by age. He turns to the sea of faces in front of him. He wheels round to the 'overflow' in the chancel. His voice, as Mr. Gladstone said of Bishop Wilberforce, is 'sometimes like a murmuring brook, sometimes like a trumpet-call.' Now it sinks till it is nearly inaudible, and now you see the preacher's hold upon his hearers, for they stretch forward with hands to ears, and strained and anxious faces, lest they lose the smallest word of the spell which this great magician is weaving round their hearts. And all this, remember, year after year, in a slum-church, in the holiday season, on a week-day evening. I

know no triumph equal to it, at any rate in the Church to which I belong.

"Now the preacher has come to an end. The service has lasted a little over the hour. Two thunderous hymns again shake the roof. The blessing is given, and we stream out towards Holborn and Gray's Inn Road. It has been, for all its frequency, a wonderful experience; and what is the meaning of it?

"'Dynasties come and go, Empires rise and fall, literatures vanish from the memory of man, forms of polity wax old and perish, and the ancient homes of great peoples survive only as the sepulchres of the dead; but the broodings of the soul on the dim hereafter never fade or die. To any fresh or earnest word on those most solemn and mysterious of themes men listen with the eagerness which a fond imagination ascribes to the Ages of Faith.'

"That is a true testimony, and on these Mondays in August it is verified anew."

# CHAPTER XIV

## RETROSPECT

"One look back, as we hurry o'er the plain,
Man's years speeding us along—
One look back! From the hollow past again,
Youth, come flooding into song!
Tell how once, in the breath of summer air,
Winds blew fresher than they blow;
Times long hid, with their triumph and their care,
Yesterday—many years ago!"

E. E. Bowen.

Having, so far, traced the history of St. Alban's in some detail, I pause for a moment in my task, and cast a retrospective glance over the ground which we have travelled. In doing this, I cannot isolate St. Alban's from the general movement of the English Church. Though distinguished above other churches by the Evangelical marks of persecution and calumny, St. Alban's has yet been part of a greater whole. Certainly the history of the Church in the Victorian age could not be written without frequent reference to St. Alban's; and the history of St. Alban's cannot be understood unless it is placed in its true relation with the life and fortunes of the Church at large.

For the spiritual origin of St. Alban's we must look back to a date long anterior to its Consecration—anterior even to Mr. Hubbard's Venture of Faith, and Lord Leigh's generous response. Two pictures of the Church of England, as it appeared

to the eye in the days which preceded the Oxford Movement, may here be placed in instructive contrast. The first is drawn by Cardinal Newman, and depicts his recollection of things as they were before the "happy magic" of *The Christian Year*[1] had begun to transfigure them.

"A ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on and broken piecemeal; prayers clipped, pieced, torn, shuffled about at pleasure, until the meaning of the composition perished, and offices which had been poetry were no longer even good prose; antiphons, hymns, benedictions, invocations, shovelled away; Scripture lessons turned into chapters; heaviness, feebleness, unwieldiness, where the Catholic rites had had the lightness and airiness of a spirit; vestments chucked off, lights quenched, jewels stolen, the pomp and circumstance of worship annihilated; a dreariness which could be felt, and which seemed the token of an incipient Socinianism, forcing itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostril of the worshipper; a smell of dust and damp, not of incense; a sound of ministers preaching Catholic prayers, and parish clerks droning out Catholic canticles; the Royal Arms for the Crucifix; ugly huge boxes of wood, sacred to preachers, frowning upon the congregation in the place of the mysterious Altar; and the long Cathedral aisles unused, railed off like the tombs (as they were) of what had been and was not."

The second picture is drawn in a "Letter on the Catholic Question," addressed by an anonymous writer to "The Freeholders of the County of York," in the year 1826, when the cause of Roman Catholic Emancipation was fighting its way.

[1] *The Christian Year* was published in 1827.

"Go to a Cathedral, hear and see all the magnificent things done there; behold the regiments of wax tapers, the white-robed priests, the mace-bearers, the chaunters, the picture over the Altar, the wax lights and the burnished gold plates and cups on the Altar; then listen to the prayers repeated in chaunt, the anthems, the musical responses, the thundering of the organ, and the echoes of the interminable roof, and then say, Is not this idolatry? It is all the idolatry that the Catholics admit; it is the natural inclination that we have to those weak and beggarly elements—pomp and pride—and which both Catholics and the High Church party think so important in religion. I boldly assert that there is more idolatry in the Church of England than amongst English Catholics; and for this simple reason, because the Church of England can better afford it. Two-thirds of the Church service is pomp and grandeur; it is, as Charles II used to say, 'the service of gentlemen.' It is for show, and for a striking impression; the Cathedral service is nothing more or less than a Mass."

It is probable that the writer was not very exactly informed as to what constitutes "a Mass"; but there is a startling contrariety between his impression, and Newman's, of Divine Service in the Church of England. Yet probably both the writers described what they saw. Whatever richness and dignity the Church continued to retain during the dark century of 1750–1850, was to be found in the greater Cathedrals, the Collegiate Churches, and the Chapels Royal. The Parish Churches and their services had sunk to a pitch of squalor which Newman's mordant pen did not exaggerate. The influence of *The Christian*

*Year*, ever extending over a wider circle, and working more deeply as years went on, set men on the pious task of restoring their Parish Churches to something like order and decency.

With the restoration of the fabric came a more intelligent use of it. The beauty of the material sanctuary seemed to demand some corresponding expression in the forms of public worship. And, while Keble and his Tractarian friends were thus influencing the Church from within, there had been great forces at work outside the Church, which tended in the same direction. These were literary forces, and beyond all doubt they played a most important part in preparing the mind of England for the movement which issued from Oxford in 1833.

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), by his genius for historical romance, did wonders in clearing away the masses of Puritan prejudice which surrounded the Church of Rome. He made men forget the fires of Smithfield, and remember the charities, the sanctities, and the beauties of Romanism; the perennial attractiveness of Catholic ritual, and the heavenward influence of Gothic architecture. Cardinal Newman has told us how profoundly Sir Walter's spell wrought on his young intelligence, and whatever affected Newman affected the Church of England more widely and more deeply than we have the power to estimate.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), after some bewildered wanderings in "Pantisocracy" and Unitarianism, found rest and tranquillity in the Church of England, and expounded the transcendental ideals of Church and State with all the

vague but suggestive beauty of a born Platonist. In a word, he supplied Anglicanism with a philosophy.

Robert Southey (1774–1843), with his lively sympathies and vivid style, set himself, in his *Book of the Church*, to instruct English people about the history, rights, and functions of their national Church, and its relation to other parts of Christendom.[1]

William Wordsworth (1770–1850) led men by his poetry to realize the symbolical, almost Sacramental, character of natural beauty, as the visible vesture under which divine truth is made manifest to men; and in his *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* he brought out the poetical aspects of the Church's common offices of devotion and charity.

To this list of authors must be added yet another, whom one does not habitually associate with the Catholic Revival—Lord Beaconsfield (1804–81). In *Sybil*, of all his books the only one which suggests a genuine sympathy with the poor, he has some striking passages on the influence of sacred architecture, and the service which the Church, if she would, might render to the masses. "In the centre of the town of Mowbray, teeming with its toiling thousands, there rose a building which might vie with many of the Cathedrals of our land. Beautiful its solemn towers, its sculptured western front; beautiful its columned aisles and lofty nave; its sparkling shrine and delicate chantry; most beautiful the streaming glories of its vast orient

[1] Southey was the first Anglican writer who urged the desirability of forming communities of women devoted to works of mercy. The founders of the first English Sisterhood took the idea from him. I state this on the authority of the 7th Duke of Rutland.

light!" But the Parish Church of Mowbray was useless; it ministered only to a handful of well-to-do families who frequented it because it was more fashionable than the Chapel. "The Church deserted the people, and from that moment the Church has been in danger, and the people degraded."

There is no need to multiply citations; but we should remember that it was by reading *Sybil* that Lord Leigh was reminded of his duty towards the dwellers on his property in the slums of Holborn.

The Catholic Revival dates from 1833; the restoration of Ceremonial began twenty years later. The last eighty years have witnessed the free development of principles which had never died out. In the Eighteenth Century they had been struggling for bare existence amid diverse and desperate perils. The dogmas, the traditions, the usages of Catholic Christianity had all but perished out of the Church of England. Her candlestick had gone very near to being removed. Yet, through all that time, even in its darkest and deadest hours, God "left not Himself without witness." His prophets were hidden in the cave; and no Catholic doctrine or practice was ever left, even for a season, without its believers and upholders in the English Church.[1] The leaders of the Oxford Movement brought these things, which had been buried in holes and corners, into the light of day, called public attention to them, vaunted of

[1] Even Unction was retained; though, as has been caustically remarked, "the Church, with characteristic devotion to Cæsar, retained it only in the Coronation of the Sovereign."

them, bade men recognize that they were no modern growths, nor morbid accretions, nor obsolete antiquities, but the pith and marrow of the Church's life. This was the special work of the years 1833–53.

Then came a new stage of the Movement; and it was the stage which for convenience sake we must call Ritualistic. Speaking more fully, we may say that, very gradually, the men whose duty it was to teach Catholic doctrine to popular congregations found it expedient, and even necessary, to express that doctrine in acts and things, as well as in words. It is an interesting study, though outside the scope of this book, to trace that development in detail. The Leaders of the Oxford Movement had nothing to do with it. They were fully occupied with the history, theology, and philosophy of the Faith, and they had no time to spare for external forms.[1]

It was the second generation of the Movement, and the men who were called to pastoral work rather than to study, that first tried to restore the visible beauty of worship. Far back in the 'forties, there were scattered attempts to mark the dignity of the Holy Eucharist by a special garb, and about the year 1850 the Eucharistic Vesture was, here and there, restored in full.[2] There was no playing at ceremonial, no passion for man-millinery and "solemn foppery," as the enemy politely said; but

[1] But it is to be remembered that Mr. Keble maintained the obligatory force of the Ornaments Rubric, and that Dr. Pusey felt that he "could not contend too stoutly" for the Eastward Position and the Vestments.

[2] A red chasuble was worn by the Rev. T. Chamberlain at St. Thomas's, Oxford, on Whitsunday 1854.

simply a desire to show forth the greatness of the Eucharist, as the manifestation of our crucified, risen, and ascended Lord. "This," said Dr. Pusey in 1866, "is from its very centre a lay-movement. The clergy have taught it [the Faith] the people, and the people have asked it of the clergy. We taught it them; they felt it to be true; and they said, 'Set it before our eyes.'"

It is true that some of the restorers of Ritual rather obscured what they meant to teach by insisting on symbolic meanings in everything which they wore, or used, or did. Every article of the Celebrant's dress was made to mean something. The Eastward Position was held to teach the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the "North End" to deny it. Lighted candles on the Altar proclaimed the Lord's Presence, and Seven Lamps before it typified "the Seven Spirits of God." With regard to Incense Dr. Pusey wrote, "I do not know that censing persons and things has anything to do with the Real Presence. . . . To the mass of the English people (and among them to me) it is an un-understood rite. Three different explanations of it have been given me by Ritualists."

But when this tendency to attribute significance to trifles was avoided, and Ritual was used, like the High Priest's vesture in the Tabernacle, "for glory and for beauty," it told its tale and worked its way. Everything which helped to make the Service of the Eucharist more glorious and more distinctive taught, as no words could ever teach it, the central truth of the Sacred Presence. "Heaven itself seemed to have opened, and One

fairer than the fairest of the Angelic Hosts to have come down to earth."

Such was the Genesis of Ritualism; and that revival of the Æsthetic Sense which was the most striking characteristic of the Mid-Victorian age co-operated in its development. The revival which has made itself seen and felt in the truer feeling to Nature, in the cultivation of a higher art, in the adornment of common things, in every detail of dress and decoration, and building and furniture, ministered to the restoration of religious ceremonial. Ritualism was in the air. The culture of beauty was the *Zeit-Geist;* and the Church, who in her outward aspects always reflects and embodies the spirit of the age, became ritualistic as society became æsthetic.

Society expressed its own convictions—such as they were—by the splendour of decorative art; the Church expressed hers by the splendour of liturgical worship; and people who had become accustomed to the one saw nothing to startle them in the other.

"Ritual," said Mr. Gladstone, "is the clothing which, in some form and in some degree, men naturally and inevitably give to the performance of the public duties of Religion." The "form" and the "degree" of Ritual, as revived in the Church of England, were extremely various; and chiefly because those who were attempting to revive it had no authoritative guidance. But study and patience gradually brought to light what had been so long concealed. As the labour of architects had discovered the hidden beauties of sacred fabrics, obscured by stucco and upholstery, so the labour of

liturgiologists discerned the ancient and glorious service of the Church of England, embedded in the directions, the allusions, and the historical setting of the Prayer-book, but long concealed from view by the uncomely accretions of Puritan tradition.

These various causes have combined to produce the external aspect of the English Church as it is to-day. It must be admitted that this aspect is highly variegated. In some quarters the hideousness of Puritanism still survives; in others, it is difficult to tell at a glance whether one is taking part in the English or the Roman Liturgy. But in the great majority of churches called "ritualistic," the statuesque dignity which is characteristic of the English use, the clear enunciation of the English words, and the loyal fidelity to the "prescript order" of the Prayer-book, tell the worshipper at once that he is in an English Church.

Much, of course, remains to be done, both in the way of "levelling-up" and of "levelling-down," before we can attain to the general harmony of use which befits the public services of a national Church; but, even amid the confusions and perplexities which must beset an age of reconstruction, the Church of England presents a type of Divine worship which may fairly rank among the glories of Christendom.

If I have at all rightly told the story of the revival in the English Church during the last sixty years, it is expedient to trace the relation of St. Alban's Church to that revival, and the mutual influence of each on the other. The Founder of St. Alban's may be taken as a personal link between the earlier stages of the revival and the later.

When once the Tractarian theology had laid its compelling hand on the minds of English churchmen, it began to energize in church-building. Men were ashamed to "dwell in cedar, when the Ark of God dwelt within curtains." Their devotional instinct found its natural vent in building "a House for the Lord, exceeding magnifical." When such a "House" was built, they rejoiced that it "would be a mute prophet of faith and reverence long after we have passed away." This pious impulse was seen at work in St. Saviour's, Leeds, in the Parish Church of Hursley, in St. Michael and All Angels, Bussage, in All Saints', Margaret Street, and indeed wherever the Oxford Movement even indirectly penetrated.

Mr. Hubbard, as we saw at the outset, was no disciple of any school or section. His churchmanship was in part inherited, in part acquired by patient study and earnest consultation. He believed devoutly in the Apostolic Succession, in Baptismal Regeneration, and in the Eucharistic Presence. Concerning Confession he wrote: "If it be found that, through private Confession and by the Grace of Absolution, the depraved can be purified, and the pure become holier, who shall dare to deprive either class of their liberty of action? The attempt would be as futile as it would be profane." In all these points he was at one with the Tractarian leaders; and his churchmanship, like that of Dr. Pusey, and Mr. Keble, and Mr. Beresford-Hope, and the anonymous founders of Bussage, expressed itself in the resolve to build a church. The church was to be beautiful; and furthermore it was to be built in a slum. It was

to be a visible thank-offering for God's mercies to the donor, and it was specially designed to help "Christ's Poor." The modern way of expressing thankfulness and helping the poor would be to enlarge a Hospital, or to endow a Public Library, or perhaps to create an Institute with billiard-tables and a swimming-bath—all excellent in their way, but lacking the idealism of the earlier method.

So far, then, as his theology was concerned, and so far as he was a church-builder, Mr. Hubbard belonged to the earlier stage of the Catholic Revival. What about Ceremonial, which has played so conspicuous a part in the later stage? It would seem inappropriate to speak of Mr. Hubbard as a Ritualist; yet he was profoundly impressed by the necessity of dignity and comeliness in Divine Worship. On all points of Ceremonial he took counsel, carefully and thoroughly, with Butler of Wantage, Liddon, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, and Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury; and, when their opinions were conflicting, he chose his own line and pursued it fearlessly. "He would always, even in early days, support any Incumbent in placing a Cross on the Altar"; and we have seen that, before St. Alban's was consecrated, he presented, among his other gifts to the church, a chasuble of white linen, with stole, alb, and maniple. In 1868 he said, in a Letter to the Bishop of London, "For St. Alban's Church, as I delivered it into the hands of your Lordship, I was alone responsible; and, such as it was then, I would alone have defended it against any hostile proceedings."

I traced in an earlier chapter the gradual develop-

ment of the Ceremonial used at St. Alban's, and of the various fluctuations and permutations through which it has passed. While that development was in process, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce wrote some words which deserve to be reproduced. "A moderate and sober development of Ceremonial belongs necessarily to the Church as a living body. Life implies, of necessity, change. Death alone secures immutability. . . . In any normal condition of the Church, the spiritual necessities of the body necessitate changes. Every varying phase through which it is passing renders some change expedient, perhaps essential to life. The bark-bound tree, the hide-bound animal, must suffer, and too often die. The rigid clasp of an unalterable ritual may fatally repress zeal, generate formality, or nourish superstition. In the normal condition, therefore, of the Church, Ritual must be and ought to be, elastic and subject to variations. . . . The sober flow of reviving Ritual is not hostile to primitive truth, and need not tend towards Papal corruptions; it may tend, if rightly guided, only to restore to us what our fathers had before those corruptions arose; to revive old English, not to ape new Roman, ways; and it may be a movement of God's Spirit reacting against the too-prevalent inclination to remove all mystery from religion—a holy desire to mark more clearly, in act and sign, that the worship of the Church even here, for each one who has faith to read aright its true character, is but the shadow cast on earth of the Intercession and the Worship of the Heavenly Temple. Only let it never be forgotten that every increase of outer Ceremonial must be accompanied by an equal increase in the simple

preaching of the Gospel of Christ and in the heart's devotion of the worshippers; for, without this inward breathing of the soul under the inspiration of the Blessed Spirit, all external imagery soon passes into the Second Death of an hypocritical formality."[1]

With those wise and edifying words, as true to-day as when they were written, I dismiss the "nicely-calculated less or more" of Ritual at St. Alban's —only remarking that, in all its phases, it has shown, in Newman's words, "the lightness and airiness of a spirit"; or, to use a homelier simile, has fitted the congregation like a glove. When troubles were thickening round St. Alban's in the distressful year 1874, Dr. Pusey wrote to Mackonochie, "Your strength is, and will be, in the hearts of your people. Courts cannot really move you when you have *them*. . . . It was a grand Roman boast—*Volentes per populos dat jura*."

Seven years later, when he was nearing the end of his long life, the great Doctor wrote to the *Times*:

"Whatever mistakes any of the Ritualists made formerly, no Ritualist would now, I believe, wish to make any change without the hearty goodwill of the people. But all along those who have closely observed the Ritual Movement have seen that it is especially the work of the laity. While the clergyman has been hesitating, his parishioners have often presented him with the Vestments which they wished him to wear. Mr. Enraght[2] and Mr.

[1] Abridged from the Bishop's Triennial Charge to the Diocese of Oxford, 1866.

[2] One of Lord Penzance's victims. See p. 165.

Mackonochie have not been struggling for themselves, but for their people. St. Alban's was built by a pious High Church layman, in what was one of the worst localities in London. It is now full of a most religious population, who join intelligently in the service provided for them, and love it."

These last words of Dr. Pusey's force our attention to another point in the retrospect. How far did St. Alban's fulfil its Founder's purpose of ministering to the very poor? To answer positively is difficult. Those who were present at the service on the evening of the Consecration, and on the succeeding Sunday, were emphatic in their testimony. "The congregation was such as one, judging from past experience, would scarcely have expected or hoped to see in so stately a pile. Not merely those fairly well-to-do were there, and the less struggling class of poor; but those whom want of means, and insufficient apparel, too often keep away. The bonnetless and shoeless were in numbers amongst them, and, as there are no pew-rents and no appropriations, they were enabled to feel that they had as good a right to their Church as anybody else." Three years later, the *Times* sought to enliven the "Silly Season" by sending its reporter to describe the High Mass at St. Alban's, and the report—rather an exact one, as things go—concluded as follows: "Although the Church is situated in a very poor neighbourhood, the congregation is by no means composed of humble persons. Some evidently belong to decidedly fashionable society, while scarcely any are below a very respectable middle class. The spirit of devotion that pervades the

whole assembly is remarkable, and foremost, perhaps, among the devotees are young men of nineteen or twenty years of age, who seem to have the intricacies of Ritualism at their fingers' ends. Yesterday morning (August 26, 1866) the Church was completely filled, the male and female portions of the congregation being apparently equal to each other."

To this account of St. Alban's, two replies were immediately forthcoming. Mackonochie wrote as follows about the class of people composing the congregation: "A little reflection as to the habits of the very poor in our large towns will, I think, convince you that a service beginning at 11.15 A.M. is not the one at which to expect many poor. Indeed, had I been at liberty to consult only for my parishioners, I should not have had my service at that hour.[1] Still I may say that, knowing my people by sight, I could see not only several of the aristocracy from a distance who were strangers to me, but also many whom, though dressed so as to pass muster, I know to be living by hard daily labour. A poor man or woman does not come to Church for many Sundays in bad clothing. He gives up buying gin, and gets good clothes. I ought to thank you for your testimony to the manner and heartiness of the congregation—made up, let me observe (after allowing for a few rich and a good many poor), of shopmen, warehousemen, tradesmen, professional men, students of medicine, &c.; the very men whom the Church generally finds it so hard to hold together."

[1] Mackonochie had intended to have the choral Eucharist at 8 A.M., but was over-persuaded by Mr. Butler.

"W. E. J." wrote as follows:

"St. Alban's is pre-eminently a Church for the poor. The number drawn into the fold by Baptism from among the very lowest and most wretched class is truly astounding. The clergy are indefatigable in their labour of love among the poor, and there is a goodly muster of this class in the congregation every Sunday.

"I hail the fact that they were not recognisable by your informant as one of the signs of the thorough manner in which the work of conversion has been accomplished. Many who have been gathered in from the surrounding neighbourhoods have been taught that it is fit they should appear decent and clean when they come up to the Temple of God. They who before were beside themselves, as it were, are now sitting clothed and in their right mind. One other reason, perhaps, why the poor were not easily distinguishable from their richer brethren is, that the abominable pew-system (now happily dying out) has never existed here; but the 'rich and poor meet together in the name of the Lord, for the Lord is the Maker of them all.' No more striking illustration of the mixed character of these congregations could well be given than the following: a poor woman found a book that had been left by the lady who sat next her, and, on giving it to the verger, it was found to belong to a lady of exalted rank. This was on the Eve of Whitsunday."

One can discern in these extracts the beginnings of a change which gradually overtook St. Alban's. Its enemies advertized it. By repeated descriptions, some calumnious, some laudatory, some grotesque,

in the newspapers; by the resulting correspondence, often necessary for self-defence; by caricatures and burlesques; by incessant persecutions; by repeated litigation; by all the arts which could be devised by men of ill-will with the object of destroying a great work for God, St. Alban's was forced into an undesired but unavoidable publicity. In the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century, no other church had such a name. Others might be excellent and exemplary, more showy, or more "correct," or more fashionable, or more popular; but there was a sound of adventure and romance in the very name of St. Alban's—a kind of glamour about the fabric and the priests—which attracted adherents from far and wide. One might not wholly approve its ways—one might prefer, as a matter of taste, another form of ritual, or another style of music—some might perhaps desire that the truly English character of the religion taught in it were more clearly displayed in liturgical action—but, let these things be as they might, St. Alban's was what no other church was or could be. It was the "Jerusalem" below, which was "the mother of us all." More especially, as time went on, the characteristic noted by the *Times*—the number of young men in the congregation—became more and more conspicuous. Pious women there were in abundance—was there ever a church where they did not congregate?—but St. Alban's was from the first a Man's church, and a Young Man's church before all.

What was the bearing of all this on the parish, and on the Founder's purpose? An overflowing congregation, drawn from all parts of London, and

the suburbs, and the country, who could so order their Sunday as to arrive at whatever hour they chose, and pick their seats, and make themselves comfortable, of necessity tended to exclude the poor, whose church-going must be made to fit in with the requirements of rest and food, and the daily routine—not lightest on Sunday—of domestic labour.

Then again, does the experience of the Catholic Revival, and of all that has been done in the way of building and restoring churches, teach us that the solemnity of sacred architecture attracts the very poor? Is elaborate music an aid to their devotion? Are they edified, or bewildered, by what Newman called the "sacred dance" of the Ministers at the High Altar? I can ask these questions, but I cannot answer them. Perhaps the Church has really not yet emerged from the Catacombs. Perhaps the ritual of the Upper Chamber is what speaks most movingly to the followers of the Nazarene.

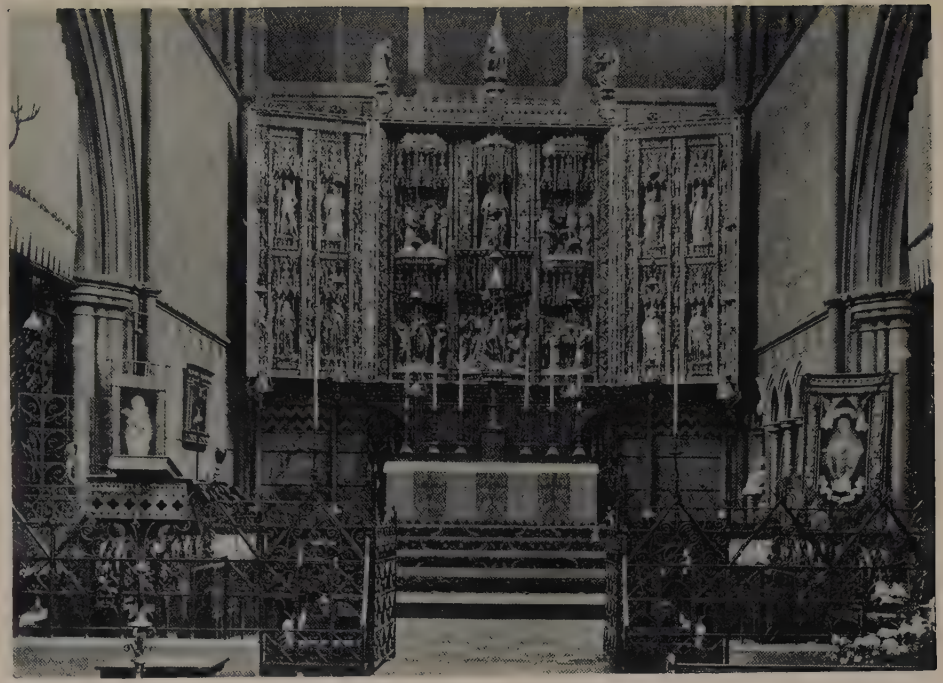
But, even if we were forced to admit unreservedly that St. Alban's had only won the poor to friendliness and goodwill and sociability, and had never made them feel that its gorgeous Altar is the centre of their life, should we be forced, on that account, to say that the prayers and almsdeeds of the Founder were thrown away? No—and a thousand times No. Is it nothing to have diminished human misery, and brightened human lots, and won the love of human hearts, and broken down the walls of prejudice and mistrust? Is it nothing to have made a Den of Thieves a centre of Christian beneficence? Nothing to have

enlisted the active sympathy of wealth and privilege on behalf of the overworked and the underfed, the ignorant, the downtrodden, and the oppressed?

As to the spiritual ministrations of the church, has not the Founder's faith been abundantly rewarded? It is of the very essence of devotion, that what we offer to God we offer to be employed as He sees best. It is not for us to play the part of Providence, or to prescribe the workings of Grace. We must not murmur if a sacrifice, which we made with one purpose in view, has been used for another. It is honour enough that our offering has been accepted; happiness enough to see it used. St. Alban's may have been designed to be a poor man's church, and others, not poor, may have crowded in. But whatever else is true about it, this at least is beyond contradiction—that for fifty years God has used it, to an extent which no human prevision could have anticipated, for the fulfilment of His gracious purpose in "bringing many sons unto glory." To thousands of men and women it is to-day what it has always been—"a shadow of a great rock in a weary land, a haven of rest in this tumultuous world, a breakwater for the waves upon waves of human hearts and souls which beat unceasingly around its island shores."[1]

Of the Faithful Departed, and of their present concern in things here below, we know all too little; but surely it is not beyond the permitted limits of reverent surmise to believe that there are many who in the invisible world still remember, with a thankfulness for which human language has no

[1] A. P. Stanley.



REREDOS AND SANCTUARY

*From photograph by* R. HUTH

adequate expression, the day which first guided their footsteps to St. Alban's Church; the arrow of conviction which there pierced their heart; the assurance of Forgiveness which there spoke to them in Holy Absolution; and the knowledge, there first vouchsafed, of Eucharistic blessedness.

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"I sate down under His shadow with great delight, and His fruit was sweet to my taste.

"He brought me to the banqueting-house, and His banner over me was love."

# CHAPTER XV

## PERMANENCE AMID CHANGE

"And now, Lord, Thou art God, and hast promised this goodness unto Thy servant: now therefore let it please Thee to bless the house of Thy servant, that it may be before Thee for ever: for Thou blessest, O Lord, and it shall be blessed for ever."—DAVID.

IT has been impressively said that "those who dare to invoke the blessing of God upon a human institution, and to believe that they see graven upon its front those more than human words, *for ever*, should know what they mean. God does not give His blessings lightly or arbitrarily; nor, when they are once given, are they never withdrawn. Europe is strown with the ruins of great buildings and great societies on which once His blessing deigned to rest—buildings beside which ours are humble, societies of world-wide fame and activity.

"England is rich in such memorials of bygone grandeur. When we have visited the ruins of some magnificent Abbey, and have endeavoured to picture, not merely the outward aspect of the vast mass of associated buildings, but the minds of the men who designed those glorious forms, or inhabited those sacred walls, the thought must often have occurred to us—The blessing of God was once here. The Lord was once in this place. It was a true House

of God. It seemed once as though it would abide for ever.

"It seemed so alike to builder and to inhabitant:

> 'They dreamed not of a perishable home
> Who thus could build.'

And, to those who dwelt in them, the Abbeys and Monasteries of England may well have seemed to be marked with the broadest stamp of Permanence; as much a part of her vital frame-work as her Cathedrals, her Universities, or her Parliaments. In each case, no doubt, they believed that their house would stand for ever; and now it is a holy desolation and a nest for sparrows."[1]

A similar thought forces itself upon the mind when we close this retrospect of fifty years. We look back—and we look forward. It is a human instinct to peer into the misty future, and to speculate on the life and activities of St. Alban's in the years that are to come. Perhaps our thoughts turn first to the material fabric which we have so long known and loved. "To some," it has been beautifully said, "to some, every feature of the church stands deep in memories, and dear with the tenderest associations. Our soul is at home in it, in its brooding silence, and strangely tranquillizing air. Beyond other buildings, this is to us our Father's House, the scene of His paternal care, and of those hours of fellowship with Him which, 'better than a thousand,' have brought us life and peace and the happiness which leaves no regrets.

"In saying all this we are only claiming for the church we love what anyone, anywhere, may claim

[1] Condensed from a sermon by Henry Montagu Butler, D.D.

for the sanctuary which has been his spiritual home. To him his church is as no other church, whatever the pretensions of that church may be. The more or less of art, the splendour of its ritual, the sweetness of its music, do not enter into the question of its charms. It is dear, not for its intrinsic beauty, but for the associations which cling to it, and for the share it has had in his own spiritual history. The motto carved above the door of a simple wooden house in the Black Forest—*Mein Nest ist das Best* —commends itself to us as wholly true. What other nest in all the world could be to us so true a nest as Home? And so, if any one of us—man, woman, or child—is overheard, as some have been overheard, saying, 'There is no church like St. Alban's,' do not judge us hardly. It is not ignorance, or arrogance, or exclusiveness, but only the loyalty of a steadfast love, which, in the scene of God's habitual gifts, thanks Him for all that He has given."[1]

In those words, many a heart finds the utterance of its habitual thoughts. Men cling with an even passionate fondness to the very bricks and stones which are hallowed by such sanctification. And yet here, obviously and visibly, are the possibilities of change. The memory of March 9, 1899, when the church so narrowly escaped destruction by fire, is an enduring reminder that even the most beautiful work of human art has no stamp of permanence; and that, when God sees fit to employ the agencies of flame or storm or earthquake, we have no assurance that they will spare even the holiest shrine. It is thus, I suppose, that He teaches us to seek the true

[1] The Rev. E. F. Russell.

Shechinah in the temple of the heart, and to remember that the things that are seen are temporal.

I turn to other possibilities of change. It were a thousand times better that fire should come down from Heaven and consume every altar in Christendom, than that a fabric once hallowed by the Christian Mysteries and the Word of Life should be perverted to the propagation of blasphemy or misbelief. The desecrated Church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople stands as an enduring memorial of this awful possibility; and we have from time to time been threatened with similar pollutions of those English sanctuaries which the world calls "National." Some men think that the separation of Church and State in England is near at hand; some, that it is infinitely far off; some look to it as a blessing, others shudder at it as a curse. Some believe that the Church would be stronger and more effective when stripped of her possessions; others that she would be weaker and of less account—all agree that she had better surrender her fabrics than her faith. But, whatever changes the future may have in store, it is unthinkable that the State can ever lay its sacrilegious hands on a church like St. Alban's, built only half a century ago, with the most definite and explicit purpose of providing the poor with the Word and Sacraments according to the use of the Church of England; and sustained, in beauty and working power, by the freewill offerings of a devoted people. No. So long as the material fabric of St. Alban's lasts, we may be as confident as mortals are allowed

to be confident about anything, that it will continue to be the home of a spiritual society.

But will the essential nature of the Church remain unchanged? I pause upon those words, because they bear directly on the thought which guides this closing chapter—"Permanence amid Change." What is the essence of a Church? What are its accidents? What is the amount, what is the kind, of "change" which can befall it, without affecting its "permanence"? Questions such as these, though concerned with other matters, perplexed the philosophers of the ancient world, and afforded abundant employment to the Schoolmen of the Middle Age. No very clear answer emerged from all those theoretical disputations; and we find ourselves a long way from certitude when we apply the same questions to practical issues of the present day. How, for example, is St. Alban's—not the material fabric, but the spiritual institution—to preserve its essential nature, and to find the secret of Permanence amid Change? One generation cannot answer for another—nay, it cannot even answer for itself. Most probably there are men to-day, worshipping at St. Alban's Altar, and drinking in the Gospel from St. Alban's pulpit, who, ten years hence, will have reconsidered some of their present theories about things unseen. If that happens, they may find their spiritual home elsewhere; or they may still find it at St. Alban's though under altered conditions. If we look a little further ahead, we know that a new generation of priests and worshippers will have arrived; and, with them, changed ways of thought, changed modes of expression, changed tastes in things ex-

ternal, even changed beliefs about matters which now seem finally closed. Some of these changes have actually begun: some seem to be looming not far off. Through all the permutations, actual and impending, can St. Alban's maintain its continuity with the work of the last fifty years, and preserve its permanence amid the unknown possibilities of the future?

To these questions, and others like them, no two people will make the same answer. Some, indeed, will think it wiser to waste no thought on a future which they cannot control. But this attitude implies, I think, an imperfect apprehension of our own place in the scheme of the world, and our own responsibility towards the time in which we live, and, so, towards that which will succeed it.

"Enough, if something from our hand have power
To live and move, and serve the future hour,
And if, as towards the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know."

It seems to imply no arrogance, but only a dutiful attempt to be true to our time, if we endeavour to form a clear notion of what is essential to the continuity of a spiritual work, and to its Permanence amid Change; distinguishing as carefully as we can between the substance and the accidents; the enduring and the mutable; the Eternal and the Temporal.

And, just as I found it impossible to trace the history of St. Alban's apart from the history of the Church of England, so I find it impossible to fore-

cast, however tentatively, the future of the Part, except in so far as it is the future of the Whole. Surveying, as steadily as I can, all that has happened, is happening, and is likely to happen, in the religious life of England, I conclude that the fortunes of St. Alban's will follow the fortunes of the English Church, whether Established or set free. If the Church maintains her Permanence amid Change, and retains her continuity with the historic society which first planted the Christian Faith in this land, St. Alban's, in its lesser sphere, will do the same. The life of the whole will be the life of the part. What, then, is the outlook for the Church?

Everybody, I suppose, is at liberty to indulge in dreams. Everybody may foster ideals. The dream of to-day may be wrought into the substance of the future; and a high Ideal may serve to elevate reality.

It would overtax the powers of one who was both saint and genius—some Fra Angelico of the pen—to depict even faintly the outline and the colour of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, as the Divine Master willed her to be: "comely as Jerusalem, and terrible as an army with banners"; one, even as the Sacred Persons of the Undivided Trinity are One; covering the whole face of the Earth with supernatural blessing; presenting every day on every altar the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world; speaking everywhere the same clear language of dogmatic truth; separated by a holy severance from the world and its pollutions; gathering together the redeemed, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, to the worship and service of God Incarnate; and living her life

from day to day in the glad hope of His most glorious appearing.

"Hark what a sound, and too divine for hearing,
Stirs on the earth and trembles in the air!
Is it the thunder of the Lord's appearing?
Is it the music of His people's prayer?

Surely He cometh, and a thousand voices
Shout to the saints and to the deaf are dumb;
Surely He cometh, and the earth rejoices
Glad in His coming Who hath sworn, I come."

Perhaps that Ideal Church will some day be a reality, and then the end will not be far off. "Earthly words are indeed all worthless to minister to such high anticipations. Let us close our eyes, and keep silence."[1]

So much for the dream; I turn now to the waking. We see that Christendom, like some rich estate which has been divided between the various, and perhaps contending, members of one family, is separated into portions; and of necessity no one portion contains all the treasures which were included in the undivided property. This fact must be admitted; and St. Alban's belongs to that portion of the whole which we call the Church of England. Will this Church of England, in the years that are coming, prove the validity of her title by Permanence amid Change? It is my confident belief (as it was Mr. Gladstone's) that "The Church of England will do nothing, in regard to faith and discipline, to compromise or impair her character as the Catholic and Apostolic Church of this country." She will maintain her priesthood,

[1] J. H. Newman.

derived in unbroken descent from the Apostles, and will hold unwaveringly the Christian faith as professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West. Valid Sacraments and orthodox Creeds are essential conditions of a "Catholic and Apostolic Church."

But, if the Church is to do her Master's Will, she must be not Catholic only, but Evangelical. Of course, in theory there is no antithesis between the two epithets; and yet, in practice, that antithesis has been too often found; and some churches, which have been the most tenacious of their Catholicity, have been lamentably wanting in Evangelical fervour.

No Apostolic commission, no orthodox Creed, will save from inanition and paralysis a Church which forgets to Evangelize.[1] The sole aim of a living Church must be, in every act and word of her sacred ministrations, to exhibit before the gaze of perishing sinners the Deliverance once for all accomplished, and the Pardon once for all procured. She must point every son and daughter of Adam to the Cross of Calvary, and proclaim to the whole world the glad tidings of a present salvation. Once Mackonochie spoke of those who "have received the Gospel from the Altar of this church"; and the phrase aptly conveys the close relation between Sacramentalism and Evangelization.

If the Church of England is to hold her own, she must, in my humble judgment, be not only Catholic

[1] *Vae mihi est, si non evangelizavero;* 1 Cor. ix. 16.

and Evangelical, but also, in a most real sense, Protestant: she must, in common with the Holy Orthodox Churches of the East, protest against and abjure the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome. She cannot acknowledge the monarchy which he claims without disloyalty to the Divine King of the Church, and to that Catholic Society of which Rome is only a part. Equally must she resist all attempts to erect new and unauthorized papacies within her own precincts. She must remember that the constitution of the Catholic Church is not modelled on the type of an Oriental despotism; and that the ultimate seat of authority is not in an individual, however highly placed, but in the entire Spirit-bearing body of baptized people.

Then again, the Church of England, if she is to be Permanent amid the impending Changes of the social world, must show herself to be the Church of the People. She must remember that the note of the Christian Kingdom is that "the poor have the Gospel preached to them." She must recall the warning word that "not many mighty, not many noble, are called." She must not long to "rear her mitred front in Courts and Parliaments." She must repudiate the control of a Godless State, and, with it the patronage of comfortable Philistines, the wealthy, the worldly, and the well-to-do.

The Church which is to win England for Christ must go out into the highways and hedges, into the slums and the cellars and the reeking garrets of a population which lives twelve in a room; and there proclaim the Acceptable Year of the Lord—the simultaneous deliverance from moral and from physical degradation. "She shines alike on the evil

and on the good. She offers the Supernatural to all who choose to come." She invites the outcast and the downtrodden to find within her holy walls a resting-place, a sanctuary, and a home. She tells them that, as members by birth of the Kingly Commonwealth of England, and by Baptism of the Catholic Church, they have the right to claim a share for themselves, and for their children after them, in the soil, the wealth, the civilization, and the government of this professedly Christian land.

The world is full of intellectual, as well as social, unrest; and, if the Church of England means to keep her children from rebellion, she must show herself the Church of Freedom. She must claim, not only freedom to regulate her own concerns and to fashion her own worship; but also freedom to consider the great problems of life and thought in the full light of History and Science and Criticism. In Bishop Westcott's animating words, she must combine "the sovereignty of soul of Antony, the social devotion of Benedict, the humble love of Francis, the matchless energy of the Jesuits, with faith that fears no trial, with hope that fears no darkness, with truth that fears no light." Founded on the Impregnable Rock of the Divine Incarnation, she can look with equanimity on each fresh discovery of physical or literary fact. She knows that, whatever scholarship may have to say about the text of the New Testament, "the Church is older than the oldest of her documents," and that she still has the Catholic tradition which sufficed the Church before the Canon was completed. She rejoices in the fresh light which competent criticism

casts upon the dark places of the written Word; but all the while she calmly recollects that critics are fallible, and that the peremptory decisions of one generation are commonly reversed by the next. A brilliant child of Israel once wrote: "Europe is not even a quarter of the globe, as the philosophers pretended it was. There is already a fifth division, and probably there will be more, as the philosophers announce it impossible." Our reverence for criticism is conditioned by a similar consideration.

Catholic, Evangelical, Popular, Free, the Church of the Future, if she is to be one with the Church of the Past, must be profoundly Sacramental. She must realize that Humanity is compounded of body and soul; she must bear in mind that as long as God has held intercourse with man He has expressed spiritual truths in material forms: and that visible beauty is the vesture of the Divine. Therefore she must press forward, open-hearted and open-handed, to offer her children the sevenfold treasure of Sacramental blessing. Outside the Service of the Eucharist, she will provide a multiplicity of popular devotions, fitted to arouse the attention and warm the heart of the poor and the uncultivated, to whom, of course, the whole area of the church must be absolutely free. Nor must the Ministry of Preaching be neglected in a country which has a passion for oratory. The clergy must remember that they have no business to offer unto the Lord that which cost them nothing, and must bestow their best gifts of thought and knowledge on the sacred function of speaking to God's people in God's name.

But, after all, "the Word preached is mingled

with human imperfections; whereas That which is received in the Sacrament is wholly Divine": [1] and therefore the Church must gather all her energies of faith and love, all her resources of splendour and devotion, round the Divine Mystery of the Altar. The Most Blessed Presence, under the forms of Bread and Wine, is the sun and centre, the heart and soul, of the worship to which she invites her children. "She rests on the robust reality of the actual event which takes place on this or that Altar."

Yes—*on this or that Altar.* The Church fears no crude sciolisms about a "local presence." With St. Chrysostom, she acknowledges that "He lies on our altars Who lay in the crib of Bethlehem." She knows by sacred and incommunicable experience, that the Divine Presence is as real and close as ever it was under the older dispensation, when the Invisible Godhead condescended to dwell between the adoring Cherubim of the Mercy-Seat. The Christian Altar is the Mercy-Seat of the New Covenant, and Christian ritual is the visible expression of an assured belief in the Eucharistic Presence. *Beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt.*

Round this central mystery of the Catholic faith the Church will arrange her worship with a generous latitude in details and incidents, and with an elastic richness which shall in its way resemble the pliant growths and many-coloured raiment of the natural world. But, amid all diversity of detail, the Church, if she is truly the Church of the English people, will remain faithful to certain guiding principles of worship. She will take heed that

[1] W. E. Gladstone.

her ritual shall be intelligible, reverent, dignified, harmonious, free from fuss and excitement, consonant with the grave but intense temper of English devotion; and, above all, that every action and every adjunct shall be so ordered as not to distract or disturb; but to concentrate alike heart and intellect on that transcendent Reality which is enacted at the Altar.

> "Incense and a pure offering, O Lord of Hosts,
> Thy holy Church presents unto Thy Name:
> And, when the cloud covers the Mercy-Seat,
> Look forth upon Thy people, and speak peace."

So much for the general principles of public worship. On the "nicely-calculated less or more" of ritual I have forborne to speak, for, in a matter where elasticity is of paramount value, pedantic precision is to be sedulously avoided. The order of Divine Worship was guided, under the Old Covenant, by the direct command of God Himself; and, under the New Covenant, an Apostle has laid it down as a subject worthy of the careful consideration of the Christian mind. "Let all things be done in right, graceful, or becoming figure, and by foreordered arrangement."[1] Sanctified common-sense will adapt all details of rite and ceremony to the devotional needs of a great people really "seeking after the Lord, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him." It has been truly said that direct preparation for the future is made in worship; and, in the worship with which the Church adores the Sacramental Presence of her

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

risen Lord, men may best prepare themselves to bear their part in the Ritual of Heaven, and to gaze for ever upon the Beatific Vision.

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"Friend, when the dews are falling,
When the red sunset fades,
When summer owls are calling
Deep in the darkening glades:
Some day we shall see beckoning
A spire over the hill,
A Church beyond our reckoning,
One Church still.

*Dirige, De profundis,*
For the Churches of the past,
*Deus obruimur undis—*
Is this Church to be last?
And the lights will seem to us lower,
The altar-candles dim,
And the voices softer and slower,
A funeral hymn.

Yet our hearts shall not falter
Kneeling behind the priest,
Turning still to the altar,
Looking still to the East:
*Illâ horâ admonebor—*
The present is as the past,
*Tuum vultum intuebor;*
In that Church last."

J. M. Falkner.

SHRINE IN COURTYARD

*From photograph by* R. HUTH

# APPENDIX I

## CLERGY AND CHURCHWARDENS OF ST. ALBAN'S, WITH DATES OF APPOINTMENT

| CLERGY[1] | | CHURCHWARDENS | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. H. Mackonochie | 1862 | J. G. Hubbard | 1863 |
| E. Ibbotson | 1862 | C. C. Spiller | 1863 |
| H. A. Walker | 1862 | R. Baker | 1868 |
| *A. H. Stanton | 1862 | T. Layman | 1869 |
| J. W. Doran | 1863 | E. Cornish | 1869 |
| F. E. Warburton | 1864 | W. Knott | 1874 |
| H. E. Willington | 1866 | H. S. Warr | 1874 |
| *E. F. Russell | 1867 | H. Winstanley | 1878 |
| J. D. Bradley | 1867 | J. D. Sedding | 1882 |
| *G. R. Hogg | 1874 | *H. Longden | 1889 |
| H. G. Maxwell | 1875 | J. H. Belfrage | 1892 |
| *R. A. J. Suckling | 1882 | F. Gill[2] | 1900 |
| E. A. Harris | 1887 | *F. E. Sidney | 1908 |
| *W. A. Pearks | 1900 | | |

[1] To these should be added several who rendered occasional service at St. Alban's, and among them Dr. Chinnery-Haldane, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, the Very Rev. Provost Ball, the Rev. H. T. Howes (who for many years took the High Celebration on Sunday), the Rev. W. H. Cleaver, the Rev. Orby Shipley, and the Rev. W. H. Lanphier.

[2] *N.B.*—Mr. Gill was a member of the choir which sang in the cellar before the church was opened.

* Still in office.

# APPENDIX II

## "THE BATTLE-GROUND OF RITUALISM"

THE following extract from the *Holborn Journal* of April 18, 1868, is reproduced in order to show the difficulties which Mr. Mackonochie had to encounter in the earlier days of his incumbency.

The Annual Vestry for the election of a People's Churchwarden was held in the Schoolroom in Leigh Court on Easter Monday, April 13, and was thus reported :

"For the first time since the opening of St. Alban's the parishioners appeared to be alive to the fact that they had a right to elect a Churchwarden of their own on Easter Monday. The past apparent indifference arose, no doubt, from so few of the more substantial rate-payers ever attending their Parish Church. During the latter part of last week, however, large quantities of bills and placards were distributed throughout the neighbourhood, calling upon the rate-payers to elect a Churchwarden who should represent their own principles. The bill was characteristic in its way, and bore evident marks that it was compiled by the party who are determined, if possible, to put down Ritualism in the Church. The following is an extract from the same :

"'Fellow-Citizens ! Your district has become the battle-ground of Ritualism for all England ; have you so little regard for your religion, so little public spirit, as to let TEN priest-ridden Ritualists choose the legal representative of the Protestant 'People' of the district ?

"'Let every man remember, that besides his duty to himself he has duties to his neighbours, to his country, and to posterity; and if the people of England do not perform

those duties now as faithfully as their ancestors did in the reigns of Queen Mary and James II, the Mass will again be established throughout England (as it already is in your own District Church), and every one alike will be compelled to bow before an arrogant Priesthood claiming to have divine powers over the souls of their fellow-men.'

"The above had the desired effect. Before half-past twelve an excited crowd met in the schoolroom in Leigh Street, attached to the church. Some little difficulty was experienced in questioning as to whether all who sought admittance were *bona fide* rate-payers, which the crowd appeared little disposed to relish, and accordingly a rush was made, before which the officials at the door were compelled to give way. Some of the more excited spirits in the meeting then called upon the meeting to divide themselves—'Protestants to one side,' and 'Papists on the other'—whereupon a division immediately took place, and it is needless to say the 'Papists' were left greatly in the minority. The appearance of Mr. Mackonochie was greeted with groans and other noises, and upon taking the chair he at first appeared a little nervous, but quickly regained his composure. After reading the notice calling the meeting, he proceeded to nominate Mr. Hubbard, of Prince's Gate, as his Churchwarden, and who, he said, had kindly consented to act during the ensuing year.

"Mr. Valpy, solicitor, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, asked whether Mr. Hubbard was a rate-payer and a resident.

"Mr. Mackonochie: He is a rate-payer, but not a resident.

"Mr. Valpy said he had instructions from Mr. Munting, of Gray's Inn Road, to protest against the election of Mr. Hubbard on the ground of non-residence.

"Mr. George Sutcliffe then nominated Mr. Baker, of 36 Gray's Inn Road, as People's Churchwarden.

"Mr. Pallett seconded.

"Mr. Knott, of Greville Street, moved as an amendment, and Mr. Daniel seconded, that Mr. Spiller be elected People's Churchwarden.

"The amendment was put by the Chairman amid much uproar, and cries of 'Now for it, Protestants,' 'Shut up the Confessional-Box,' 'Down with Papists in disguise,' 'Show your colours,' &c., &c. Upon order being a little restored, there were found to be eight hands held up for Mr. Spiller, and the rest against. The motion for Mr. Baker was put and carried with tremendous cheers, and somebody who mounted on the form, with excited gestures, proposed three groans for Mr. Mackonochie, which was responded to with much earnestness. Mr. Mackonochie, under the very trying circumstances in which he was placed, displayed much composure, and we are bound to say did not once lose his temper.

"Mr. Libbis drew the attention of the Chairman to the overwhelming majority of parishioners against the doings of his church.

"Some little discussion ensued as to whether Mr. Baker was elected, Mr. Knott demanding a poll, but ultimately it was withdrawn, and Mr. Baker declared duly elected.

"Mr. Spiller then rose to speak, but could not be heard for some time. He said it was only fair between man and man, however much they might differ in certain matters, that everybody should have his due. Mr. Mackonochie was their legal Chairman, and as he had conducted himself in a fair and open manner he moved that he be given a Vote of Thanks.

"Mr. Alldis, of Gray's Inn Road, seconded. He said as a conscientious Dissenter he opposed the Chairman all he could, but he deeply regretted the personal feeling introduced into the affair. He believed Mr. Mackonochie in one sense to be consistent, for he had been told that day, by one of the clergy of St. Alban's, that it was not a Protestant church, and if he could properly put the question, he would like to ask Mr. Mackonochie whether he really admitted this. (Cheers.) That very fact would make his (Mr. Alldis's) opposition more urgent and determined, and he trusted the gentleman they had made Churchwarden that day would aid them in that object, but at the same time sustain his office in a gentlemanly and Christian

manner. (Hear, hear.) He also thought all Englishmen liked fair play, and though they differed from Mr. Mackonochie in the church, as Chairman he was entitled to their thanks.

"The motion was then put and carried, although there were few hands held up either for or against.

"The Chairman said he thanked the meeting very much for their kindness in passing the motion. He said he was very glad to meet his parishioners, and he hoped Mr. Baker and himself, however much they differed, would associate together in a friendly spirit.[1]

"The meeting was then declared dissolved, several of Mr. Mackonochie's friends shaking hands with him. One lady, decently dressed, evidently labouring under some excitement, went up and took the Chairman by the hand, and after stating how long she had been in the neighbourhood, and how long she had known Mr. Mackonochie, concluded by stating 'she would do anything for him if he would only give up his idolatrous practices.' The Reverend Gentleman, however, preserved his equanimity in a wonderful manner, and merely bowed. However much Mr. Mackonochie's practices in connection with the order of worship at St. Alban's may be condemned, it is but justice to state that, as Chairman, everything was fair and open, and that under circumstances of a very trying nature he exhibited much Christian courtesy and evenness of temper."

[1] This hope was abundantly fulfilled.

# APPENDIX III

## PAROCHIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ST. ALBAN'S CURATES' FUND.—*Treasurer*, Rev. R. A. J. Suckling; *Secretary*, Rev. G. R. Hogg; *Deputation*, Rev. A. H. Stanton.

ST. ALBAN'S SCHOOLS.—*Managers*, The Vicar, Rev. E. F. Russell, Messrs. H. Longden, F. E. Sidney (*Secretary*), Alderman W. Donaldson Rawlins, K.C. (*L.C.C.*), and Lacy W. Ridge (*Borough*).—*Chairman and Correspondent*, Rev. R. A. J. Suckling.

THE CARE COMMITTEE.—The Vicar, Rev. E. F. Russell, Mr. H. Longden, Mr. F. E. Sidney, Mr. Lacy W. Ridge, Miss Winstanley, The Sister Superior, Miss Baker, and Miss W. Buckley, *Hon. Sec.*

DAY SCHOOLS.—*Head Master* (Boys and Mixed Standard), Mr. C. W. Rule. *Head Mistress* (Girls and Infants), Miss Matthews.

PENNY ASSOCIATION IN AID OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.—*Secretary and Treasurer*, Miss Rosa Macdonald, 4 Westminster Mansions, S.W.

CHILDREN'S PENNY DINNERS.—Miss Baker, 37 Brooke Street, Holborn, E.C.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.—*Superintendents:* Boys, Mr. Rule; Girls, Miss Matthews and Miss W. Buckley; Standard, Miss Marion Robinson; Infants, Miss Leonard. *Secretary and Treasurer*, Mr. R. E. Alison.

THE OLD SCHOLARS' CLASS.—

For Young Men.—*Superintendent*, Rev. E. F. Russell.
For Young Women.—*Superintendents*, Miss Baker and Miss Welch.

BROTHERHOOD OF JESUS OF NAZARETH.—*Superior*, Mr. W. O. Croft; *Chaplain*, Rev. A. H. Stanton; *Secretary*, Mr. D. Denne.

CONFRATERNITY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT (Branch).—*Superior*, Rev. R. A. J. Suckling; *Treasurer*, Miss Winstanley; *Secretary*, Miss Arbuthnot, 27 Ashley Gardens, S.W.

*Meetings in Church*—1st Thursday in the month at 8 P.M. Black Mass in St. Sepulchre's every Monday (as far as possible) at 8 A.M.

ALTAR DECORATION FUND.—*Collectors*, Miss Greenstreet, Miss Millner, Miss Tompson, Mr. Croft, Rev. G. R. Hogg.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.—Members: *Ex Officio*—The Vicar and Clergy. *Elected*—The Churchwardens and Messrs. Alison, Bennett-Powell, Dr. Champneys, J. Arthur Price, G. J. Smallpeice, John H. Wrentmore, H. Percy Winstanley (*Secretary*).

CHURCH BURIAL SOCIETY.—*President and Manager*, The Vicar; *Hon. Treasurer and Secretary*, Mr. W. O. Croft. Attendance at Old Scholars' Club, Baldwin's Gardens, every Tuesday evening from 7.30 to 8 o'clock. Vespers for the Dead are sung in Church on last Friday in each month, at 8 P.M.

ASSOCIATION IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN MISSIONS, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.—*Treasurer*, Mr. Alison. Meetings in Church, 2nd Thursday in month after Evensong.

WORKING PARTY meets on Fridays at 8.30 P.M. under the direction of Miss Prichard at 35 Brooke Street.

ENGLISH CHURCH UNION (Branch).—*Secretary*, Mr. C. David Cornwell.

ST. ALBAN'S MISSION.—Branch House of the Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist, Clewer. Mission House, 9 Greville Street, E.C.

GUILD OF THE HOLY FAMILY (for Married Women).—Mission House, Meetings every Monday, 8.15 P.M.

GUILD OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, under the Sisters of St. John the Baptist. Services on the Feasts of Our Lady. Monthly Meetings. *Warden*, The Vicar. Occasional Meetings in Church.

GUILD OF ST. MONICA.—Monthly Meetings at St. Monica's Home, Brooke Street. *Warden*, The Vicar; *Superior*, Mrs. Blois; *Assistant Superior*, Miss Richardson. Occasional Meetings in Church.

BIBLE CLASS FOR WOMEN.—Mission House, Thursday evenings at 7.30.

SEWING CLASS (WITH BIBLE CLASS) FOR WOMEN.—St. Alban's Hall—Monday afternoons at 2.30.

MOTHERS' MEETINGS, held at 34 Brooke Street. Monday evenings, 6 to 8; Wednesday afternoons, 2 to 4. *Lady Superintendent*, Miss M. Millner; *Mission-Woman*, Mrs. Jones, Greville Street, E.C.

MATERNITY SOCIETY.—Bags of linen lent to poor married women in their confinements. Apply to Miss M. Millner, 34 Brooke Street.

GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY (Branch).—Occasional Meetings in Church. Bible Class on Sunday afternoon at Mission House. Meetings in St. Alban's Hall—Sundays, for Tea; Thursdays, for Recreation.

SEWING CLASSES FOR GIRLS.—Mission House, Thursday and Friday evenings.

GIRLS' NIGHT SCHOOL, under Superintendence of the Sisters. Monday and Wednesday evenings.

CHILDREN'S GUILD, under Superintendence of the Sisters. Meetings in St. Alban's Hall. *Girls*—Wednesday, 6 to 8 P.M. *Boys*—Saturday, 3 to 5 P.M.

St. Joseph's Infant Nursery.—9 Greville Street.

St. John Baptist Dorcas Society.—The Sisters, St. Alban's Mission House.

St. Monica's Hostel, 19 Brooke Street, E.C.—For Lady Clerks, Students, Governesses, and young people of limited means. For information as to Terms, &c., apply to Mrs. Blois, 120 Mount Street, W., or to Miss Richardson, 19 Brooke Street, E.C.

St. Ursula's Home, Brooke Street, E.C.—For daughters of Clergy and Professional Men. For information as to Terms, &c., apply to Miss H. Frere, 3 Norfolk Square, W.; or Sister Caroline, St. Ursula's Home, Brooke Street, Holborn, E.C.

Ladies' Choir Association.—*Secretary*, Miss Sidney; *Treasurer*, F. E. Sidney, Esq., "Moreton," Holly Place, Hampstead, N.W.

St. Alban's Hall Ladies' Committee.—Mrs. Blois, Miss H. Frere, Miss O'Neill. *Secretary*, Miss Jane Garrett, 12 Highbury Crescent, N., to whom applications for use of the Hall should be made.

Father Stanton's Sunday Afternoon Teas.

The Mackonochie Home at Bognor.

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"St. Alban's Mothers' Meeting was begun in July 1863, by Father Mackonochie, and placed in the hands of Miss Millner as Superintendent. The Parochial Mission-Women's Society has always provided a Mission-Woman to help. A kind of shop is kept, and the women having put away weekly their pence, when they have sufficient to pay, have tea, sugar, calico, shirting, and books, and this benefits others as well as the Mothers' Meeting. A lady every now and then visits us from the Parochial Mission-Women's Society to see how we are getting on. We began with thirty and now number two hundred. We do

not admit anyone outside the parish—but if they leave the parish we do not turn them out. Two of the clergy visit the meetings, which happen twice a week, and read and talk and amuse them. The meetings are not conducted as a specially religious occasion, for it is thought with so many services at the Church the mothers have plenty of opportunity of going when they wish.

"Every summer we have an Excursion, generally to Southend, and in the winter a Treat with music and acting, and a present of a blanket or quilt. The money collected by the Mission-Woman altogether from the mothers and parish amounts to nearly £300 a year.

"*Apropos* of not introducing religion. On one occasion the lady from the Parochial Mission-Women's Society said, 'Surely you say a collect, for example the collect for the week, before you begin your reading.' It was the second Sunday in Advent, and the reading was from *Nicholas Nickleby*."[1] A. H. S.

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"Our Sunday Afternoon Tea sprang from the Brotherhood of Jesus of Nazareth, and it was the members of that Society who managed it.

"It is an endeavour to bridge over that great gulf fixed between the roughest of the lads and ourselves, the gulf fixed so that we could not reach them, neither could they pass to us.

"The tea is from 4 to 6 on Sunday afternoons, all except the first Sunday in the month, when the Church lads come. Any lad from fourteen to twenty-five can come if he belongs to the parish, and needless to say the parish is stretched considerably. It doesn't matter what religion he is, Anglican, Roman, Jew, or nothing; we meet on the common ground of our common nature—which can enjoy a good tea and smoke and sing the songs of the streets, and dance the dances we know, and tell the yarns of the week. Needless to say they are very popular and very amusing, but the games of the occasion can only be seen and not described.

[1] See p. 114.

"Well, what good *do* they do? That's an appraisement impossible—we keep out of the way of the 'coppers,' we have a sense of comradeship, fellowship, and friendship, we follow the little religion we have, if we have any, in our own way. But the Religion of the thing remains in the fact that we meet together, sit down to a meal together, smoke together, and are happy together. And that is something which helps to bridge over the yawning gulf fixed in society betwixt men and men." A. H S.

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## THE MACKONOCHIE HOUSE, BOGNOR

"I don't believe there is a home in England which has been so much appreciated as the home Miss Stewart makes for anyone who needs it at her house at Bognor. There are no rules or restrictions, save only that visitors must behave themselves as decent people should; and everything that can be done to make them comfortable and happy is done. 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating,' and the numerous applications for admittance, many more than can be entertained, testifies how far and wide Miss Stewart's kindness is appreciated.

"It isn't St. Alban's parish only that has benefited, but many others; nay, almost anyone from anywhere who wants care and rest and comfort and good food, claims Miss Stewart's help, and sooner or later always gets it.

"Those who can pay, pay something, and those who can't, pay nothing; but the untold good that for thirty years the Mackonochie House has done can never be written of or estimated. It lies deep down in the memories of many a sufferer, and is beyond appraisement.

"Miss Stewart started it in memory of Father Mackonochie just after his death, Christmas 1887. No monument to him could be better than the living one at Bognor, which still bears witness to his devoted life among the poor."

A. H. S.

# APPENDIX IV

## ST. MARTIN'S LEAGUE

*May* 1877. Three or four letter-carriers met in Father Stanton's room and suggested that he might form a Society or Club for Postmen. After a few meetings he decided to do so and call it St. Martin's League, to which employés of the Post Office could belong. Rules were drawn up and a medal designed, bearing the device of St. Martin and the motto "Non recuso laborem."

*June* 6, 1877. The League was founded. A service was held in St. Alban's, Holborn, and an address given by Father Stanton when fifty members joined. Father Stanton became President, and from the commencement of the League till its close was practically responsible for its maintenance. *Membership* meant employés at the P.O. belonging to the Church of England; *Associates*, employés at the P.O. not belonging to the Church of England and paying a subscription of 1*s.* annually; and friends of the League subscribing not less than 2*s.* 6*d.* a year.

The objects of the League were Love to God and Man.

To God: by endeavouring to lead good lives.

To Man: by having at heart the common brotherhood of humanity, and trying to live up to the principles of fraternity.

This being interpreted, meant: To provide for London letter-carriers and sorters, houses of rest where they could sleep, eat, or read in quiet. From the nature of their work they had many hours "off" during the day, and as the men and lads lived in the suburbs, it was a great advantage to them to have a place near the Office where they could go during these times; at any rate it was an alternative to the

crowded coffee-house or public-house. The admission of members was at a short religious service.

The first "House" was 5 Greville Street, where Father Stanton was already carrying on other work. Mrs. Alison was the Lady Superintendent and Father Stanton the Warden. The affairs of the League were managed by the President, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and a Council.

1878. A Branch House was opened in the Eastern district, with the Rev. L. S. Wainwright as Warden and Mrs. Aubert Lady Superintendent. The opening of this house was followed by requests from postmen for Branch Houses in other districts.

1879. Father Stanton obtained a house in the S.E. district and opened a branch of the League there. Mr. R. R. Dolling (afterwards Father Dolling) subsequently became Warden, and Miss Rogers Lady Superintendent. The League now numbered about 550. Mr. Walter Schröder (who had been an Associate and the Auditor of the Associates' accounts from the foundation of the League) became Hon. Treasurer. Miss Bannister offered accommodation in her house at Brighton for a limited number of the members to spend part or whole of their holidays. This was so appreciated that Father Stanton moved to obtain a house of the League's own. He leased a small one at St. Leonards, and Mrs. Roberson was the Matron. The men had the option of going to St. Leonards or Brighton on payment of 10*s.* weekly. The S.E. and Brighton Railways gave facilities for travelling at reduced fares.

1880. Major (afterwards Colonel) Foote interested himself and his friends in the League. The work was again extended, and by his and Mrs. R. Tomkinson's help a branch in the S.W. district was opened, Major Foote becoming President and Mrs. Tomkinson Lady Superintendent.

1881. Up to this time contributions from the members had been by voluntary offerings at the monthly meetings. At the Annual Meeting it was decided to have an annual subscription of 4*s.* from each member. The Brighton House was no longer available as a holiday home, and Father Stanton took action to get a larger and more convenient

house at St. Leonards. He appealed for pecuniary help, and succeeded in obtaining the bulk of the necessary sum. The lease of a house in Carisbrooke Road, St. Leonards, was purchased; the building was altered to the special requirements, and the cost of purchase and alteration, about £1700, was met mainly by Father Stanton and his friends directly or indirectly connected with St. Alban's. The Postmaster-General, Lord John Manners (afterwards 7th Duke of Rutland), and the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Church) became Patrons of the League.

1882. On February 26th the Archbishop of Canterbury preached at the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields to the League and in aid of its funds.[1]

1883. The first official report was issued. The League now numbered 646 members and 168 associates: 352 members spent their holidays at the Seaside House. Two Concerts were given, one organized by Miss Tennant and under the patronage of Mrs. Gladstone. A Bazaar was held in the Marlborough Rooms and realized £500. The members voluntarily increased their subscriptions for the Seaside House board and residence to 12*s.* 6*d.* per week. Musical At Homes were given on various occasions at the houses, and Sing-songs organised by members and friends on each Tuesday evening from November till March, each Branch being visited once a month, Mrs. R. Tomkinson and the Misses Layton always helping.

1884. Father Stanton and those closely associated with him in the League were of opinion the membership should be unrestricted. The League had been cradled by Churchmen, and the members had ever respected the traditions of its infancy, but it had grown, and to continue its work outside help was necessary. The League had become a Subscription Society, and must so continue. A growing uneasiness arising from a sense of unreality led Father Stanton to take the opinion of the members at the Annual Meeting, and the meeting decided that membership should imply only employment at the Post Office, and so it came about that, from 1884, to all inquiries as to the League

[1] See p. 282.

the answer was: "The members are employés of the Post Office, without religious distinction, and its objects are to supply *places of rest* for the postmen during the intervals which necessarily occur, when they are not actually engaged in the delivery of letters." The men again raised the Seaside House subscriptions, the payment being 14*s.* weekly. A Concert was given at Grosvenor House under distinguished patronage by eminent artists, when £180 was obtained.

1885. The year's expenses amounted to nearly £1300, the four London houses costing £750 and the seaside house £530. Towards these sums the members contributed by subscriptions to the General Fund £125 and by payments at the Seaside House £285. The League now numbered 677 members and 196 Associates. In this year Father Stanton went to America. The Commemoration was somewhat curtailed, but the Church Service was one of the best ever held. The choir, trained by Mr. Sampson, the organist of St. Alban's, and the Misses Layton, did splendidly, and the congregation of Members in uniform and Associates led Father Stanton to remark that it was the best "welcome home" that he could have had.

1886. The Second Bazaar—held at Grosvenor Hall—realized £482, and met the deficit over the subscriptions.

1887. The Expenditure was £1258 and the income £713. The deficit of £545 was discharged by the President, but he found it necessary to state that he could not guarantee to do so again. The Treasurer endeavoured to ascertain the names of Friends and Associates willing to help: and special efforts were made by Father Stanton and his friends to keep the League afloat, which at the end of the year appeared to be in a state of dissolution.

1888. The membership had fallen to 400, in the belief that the London houses would be closed in March at the end of the agreements. There had been many difficulties and changes. A great loss was the resignation from ill-health of Mrs. Roberson as Matron of the Seaside House. Mrs. Barnes succeeded her, and started with a devotion

and attention to the work which will ever remain associated with St. Martin's League.

Before the year closed the League started a new existence. Public help was solicited, and subscriptions to the amount of £500 per annum were obtained. Hitherto whenever necessary the deficit had been made up by Father Stanton and his personal friends. In 1888 for the first time he was exempt. His friends joined the ranks of subscribers, and the outside public showed a willingness to support the League which gave him the greatest gratification. Major Barrington Foote had advocated the League's cause, and was instrumental in obtaining the help of Mr. Meiggs, who practically took upon himself the expenses for five years of the S.W. Branch House. The Patrons of the League were now the Duke of Rutland, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Major Barrington Foote, and the Officers were Father Stanton President, Mr. Walter Schröder Hon. Treasurer, Miss Cole Hon. General Secretary, Mr. Alfred Ellerton Hon. Auditor, and Dr. C. Baker Gabb the Hon. Surgeon to the St. Leonards House, with Secretaries and Council elected from members of the League.

A friend of the lady who managed the S.E. House undertook the expenses of that house for two years, and half of those of the Eastern House were discharged by the Lady Superintendent. During the year £766, 10*s.* 6*d.* was received from outside subscriptions and donations, including £21 from the Merchant Taylors' Company : the members' subscriptions brought in £71 to the General Fund and £250 towards the Seaside House Expenses. A Pastoral Performance by Mr. Ben Greet and his company at Lowther Lodge by kind permission of the Hon. Wm. and Mrs. Lowther and under the Patronage of H.R.H. the Princess Louise ; a Concert at the house of Sir James and Lady Walker under the Patronage of H.R.H. the Princess Mary of Teck and H.H. the Duke of Teck ; two Drawing-room Meetings, and a Concert by members of the League, brought in £197. After payment of all expenses of the Seaside and London Houses, the Treasurer carried a balance of cash in hand of £108, 9*s.* 11*d.* to the following year.

1889. Bazaar at Duke of Wellington's Riding School realized £504, 0*s.* 7*d.*, and a subsequent sale £67, 4*s.* 6*d.* A Branch House for the Western District was opened with Mrs. Ringer and Miss Everard as Lady Superintendents. The League now numbered 800 subscribers, and 500 used the Seaside House. The total expenditure was £1641, and the year's accounts were closed with £226 in hand.

1890. Appeal was made by the President, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. General Secretary to the City Companies, which met with a generous response by six of the Worshipful Companies, who gave collectively £152.

The Duke of Westminster, K.G., became Patron in place of Dean Church.

1891. Concerts realised £72, the Offertory at St. Alban's and Donations at the Festival gave £310, 19*s.* 9*d.*, and a Rag Fair brought in £36, 12*s.* The expenses were £1600. The members contributed £144, 8*s.* by subscriptions and £427, 14*s.* by payments to the Seaside House. Miss Cole on account of other work resigned the General Secretaryship and Mrs. Keen was appointed.

1892. Bazaar at Portman Rooms, opened by Sir James Fergusson, Postmaster-General, and managed by Mr. Walter Schröder, realized £626, 7*s.* 11*d.*, all expenses paid, and a later Sale of Work at St. Alban's Hall brought in £44, 17*s.* 3*d.*

1893. Expenses of London Houses totalled £860, 3*s.* 9*d.* and St. Leonards £672, 18*s.* 3*d.* There was a falling off in donations and subscriptions from outside sources.

1894. Leases of two of the London Houses fell in, and after careful consideration it was decided not to renew them, and to also close a third House. The necessity for the Houses was much less. The men's working hours were more concentrated, and the general working conditions improved. Subscriptions diminished, and Father Stanton and those best able to judge felt there was not the same cause to ask for help.

1895. The expenses were £1328, 12*s.* 8*d.*, and the year closed with a deficit of £24, 3*s.* 8*d.* The relinquishment of the S.E., the S.W., and the W. Houses cost over £300,

and drained the exchequer. Father Stanton wrote at the time of closing the Houses, "They were happy, exuberant days which we shall never forget, but both the President and Treasurer—who have been associated with the League all along from its very commencement—are not what they were, and could not have gone on with increasing responsibilities and advancing years."

Greville Street House had been closed, and the League Headquarters were now at St. Martin's House, 21 and 22 Brooke Street, a house built to suit the requirements under lease by the Prudential Asssurance Company.

A great loss was sustained by the death of Mrs. Alison. She had ever been indefatigable in her work, and her interest in the League never wearied from the days when she managed huge annual suppers in Holborn Town Hall, planned and furnished the new house in Brooke Street, and managed it till her illness.

1896. Interest in the League and appreciation by the members continued. A Concert at Westminster Town Hall, the Offertory on St. Martin's Day at St. Alban's, and a Sale of Work brought in close on £100, which with the subscriptions and donations met the expenses.

1897. The numerical strength of the League was maintained, and it was as much appreciated by the members as ever. Subscriptions and donations from outside sources amounted to £352, 14*s*., a Sale of Work at St. Alban's Hall at Martinmas realized £57, 3*s*. 3*d*., and the Offertory at the Service in St. Alban's was £63, 7*s*. 6*d*. The members' subscriptions and passes to St. Leonards amounted to £507. After payment of all expenses there was a balance in hand of £145, 0*s*. 9*d*. on December 31.

1898. The lease of the Eastern Branch House was nearing its end, and it was thought well not to renew it. Mrs. Aubert had been responsible for the upkeep of the house from the closing of the others. Better accommodation was available for the members at their work, and the great necessity for a continuance of the house did not now exist.

The League by the death of Mrs. Barnes, the Matron at St. Leonards, lost one of its chief and most devoted

workers. The difficulty in obtaining anyone to take her place was great. Could it be done? To keep the Seaside House open meant Bazaars, Concerts, subscriptions, and donations. The special need had passed. Was it not well to close? After much thought and consultation with those intimately concerned Father Stanton decided the time was opportune to limit the League's work and premises to the E.C. House, and September saw the ending of the St. Leonards Holiday Home. £41, 1*s.* 7*d.* was in hand.

1899. The Treasurer had set his heart on obtaining a certain price for the lease of the Seaside House, but for some months it seemed as if a lower sum would have to be accepted. He ignored the suggestions of several house agents, being of opinion that the sum he was asking was both equitable and reasonable. Eventually a gentleman, who when the house was first announced for sale was pleased with its condition, position, and surroundings, came to terms with Mr. Schröder, and the transfer was concluded at the amount originally fixed. The furniture and other effects, save a few transferred to the London House, had been sold, and realised £92, a sum within a few pounds of the estimated value. Had the house remained open another year it must have been practically refurnished throughout. After meeting all expenses incidental to the caretaking and closing of the house and the sales, a balance of £814, 4*s.* 3*d.* was carried to the General Fund. There was now only the E.C. House to deal with. The Treasurer at the end of 1899 had £780, 1*s.* 6*d.* in hand.

1900–1. Father Stanton and Mr. Schröder had many consultations as to the future for the League. The expenses of the E.C. House were annually about £350. The lease could be determined in 1902; if that passed another seven years would have to run; dilapidations would have to be provided for whenever it closed. Could the money be found to continue the House, and if it could was there the need? Finally, they decided to end the League in 1902. Mr. Schröder estimated that the cash in hand, supplemented by some outside subscriptions anticipated, and a few from old friends of Father Stanton

who might be disposed to assist until the last London House closed, would be sufficient to carry it on till March 1902. They agreed not to invite further contributions, but inform the donors and subscribers who had so generously aided the League for many years that the time had arrived when the necessity for invoking their generosity had ceased.

1902. A sale of the effects of St. Martin's House was held in February, dilapidations estimated at £145 were settled by payment of £115, and on March 25 the keys of the last League House were handed over to the owners. Mr. Schröder, after payment of all accounts, had £90, 8*s.* 1*d.* in hand, and that sum was given to the St. Alban's Curates Fund. A fitting finish to an original and great work initiated and founded by Father Stanton, carried on by the help of his friends, those interested in St. Alban's Church, and others who recognised its good. A sum of about £30,000 had been spent on St. Martin's League.

There was no decay at the finish; the work was laid down because the necessity for its continuance did not exist to so great a degree.

Whenever and wherever tried, the experience had been highly appreciated by the postmen. It engendered good feeling and fellowship, and kept them healthy and happy, breaking into the monotony of their daily "walks." It was not pretended that anything further was attempted or performed. Its idea was social rather than anything else, and whatever work God-ward was effected was done by good feeling and brotherly kindness amongst the members themselves and by the Associates and other friends by their interest and help. The "outside" subscribers had recognised the work was sound and deserving of assistance, and that the members of the League were entitled to help for their public duties, performed, as they were, at all hours and in all weathers to the benefit of the community at large.

Was there any lasting good? Those best able to judge reply "Undoubtedly yes," and probably Father Stanton

would be the first to say that his twenty-five years of labour and love for St. Martin's League show some of the best results of his life's work. W. S.

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## THE GUILD OF ST. EDMUND

The Guild of St. Edmund was started in 1892 at the instance of a few Board School teachers for the purpose of: (1) Providing opportunities for social intercourse among those who, unlike Church School teachers, were more or less isolated from the surroundings of their schools; and (2) Promoting a better understanding amongst clergy and others concerning the régime of Board Schools, and thus removing any prejudices which might be felt against them. It was inaugurated by a Service held in St. Mary's, Charing Cross Road, when a sermon was preached by Father Stanton, and since then it has been the custom to hold a religious service twice a year—generally in one of the City churches. On four occasions this has been held in St. Paul's Cathedral, with sermons by the Bishop of London, the present Archbishop of York, and when in conjunction with the Guild of St. Peter,[1] by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The social side of the work has, however, chiefly occupied the attention of the Guild, and a programme of lectures, excursions, visits to places of interest, social gatherings, an annual dinner, and a Cinderella Dance, is drawn up every year. The membership of the Guild increased rapidly during the first ten years—at one time reaching to nearly a thousand—but when Mr. Balfour's Education Act of 1902 abolished the School Board its *raison d'être* was practically taken away, and another, in accordance with its original principle, had to be instituted, viz. the promotion of good relations between all who are occupied or interested in educational work in London. The Guild is gradually recovering from the *dénouement*, and there seems to be a fair prospect before it.

Having been a School Manager under the Board and

[1] A Guild of similar intention, but more definitely ecclesiastical.

Council for eighteen years, during twelve of which I was Chairman of one of the largest groups of Schools, including the Hugh Myddelton with its *personnel* of 40 teachers and 2000 children, I have naturally felt a deep interest in the work and all those who are associated with it.

G. R. H.

# APPENDIX V

## CONFESSION AT ST. ALBAN'S

WHAT sort of place is St. Alban's? We will not ask the Protestant controversialist—it is so plain that he knows nothing about it, and in that ignorance lies the only excuse for his senseless opposition. But put the question to any other chance people you meet, and most likely you will get some such answers as these. "Oh! it is a fashionable church in such an unfashionable locality, so hard to get to when one is in London," or "A place where at any rate you're sure of a fine service and good sermon." This person will blunder out something about the recent Judgment,[1] and that one, remembering perchance how there he laid down the burden of years, will feel, if he does not say, that it is a Haven of Rest in a troubled world, a shelter where help and counsel and relief are always awaiting the sin-stricken soul.

This circumstance should be carefully noted by those who imagine that Confession cannot be introduced among the poor, and is inseparably connected in their minds with Romanism. It should be noted, too, by the poor themselves beyond the region of St. Alban's, for Christ's people often feel the want of someone to help them in knowing themselves, someone "to say the absolving words, and ease a laden breast." Witness the following incident.

There was a ring one day at the gate of the Clergy House. It was raining heavily. Two labouring men stood outside. "Whom do you want?" "One of the priests." "Where do you come from?" "Out of Kent." "And what do you want?" "We've come to Confes-

[1] Pronounced by Lord Cairns on the 23rd of December 1868.

sion." "Are you Roman Catholics?" "No, we're Church of England." "Who told you about Confession?" "We read it in the papers." "Why don't you go to your own clergyman?" "We did." "Well, what did he say?" "He said he knew he could hear Confessions, but he wasn't accustomed to it, and they managed all those things at St. Alban's."

So the pilgrimage had been made from Kent, and the penitents, soaking with rain and travel-stained, received the ministry of reconciliation with God. Edward Monro's[1] expectations, over-sanguine as he was deemed when he looked for their fulfilment in this generation, are accomplished at St. Alban's. The English peasant, with all his reticence, his shyness, his sturdy independence, comes to make special confession of his sins, desires Absolution, and receives it.

Take another instance.

One day a soldier appeared at the door: "I want to see Father ——." "He's not at home." "Any of the other priests, then"—showing that his faith was not personal but sacramental.

The clergy are persuaded from their experience in this place that no real conversion is likely to take place in the heart of any of their parishioners without Confession. They have learnt to be very distrustful of any superstructure that is not based upon it. How can we be surprised at this? In his quiet Hampshire parish, where he knew every child of every family, from Baptism onwards, Mr. Keble wrote, "I find myself more and more oppressed with the consciousness of my own ignorance, and how blindly I go about the parish not knowing what men are really doing. Our one great grievance is the neglect of Confession." And again, "It is sad to think how little one knows of one's people. We go on working in the dark, and in the dark it will be until the rule of systematic Confession is revived in our Church."

No wonder, then, that the St. Alban's priests, working in the locality they do, feel everything superficial that is not

[1] The Rev. Edward Monro (1815–66), Vicar of St. John's, Leeds.

based on Confession ; that they have their misgivings unless, like the Ephesian converts, their penitents confess and show their deeds. The parishioners may be Confirmed and brought to Holy Communion without Confession, but they are made clearly to understand that in such a case the responsibility of a devout Communion rests with themselves alone. In point of fact, few of them would desire to Communicate without Confessing first ; and the number of parishioners form no inconsiderable proportion at the Festival Communions.

S. W.

"*The Churchman's Companion*,"
*November* 1869.

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"They that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a country."—*Hebrews* xi. 14.

# INDEX


All Saints', Margaret Street, 299
Amphlett, Lord Justice, 167, 168
Anti-ritualistic disturbance, 60 *seq.*
Arches Court, 95
  Judgment, 94
Arnold, Matthew, 243

Baldwin's Gardens, 1, 41
  Account of, 7
  Fountain, 38
Ball, Provost, 45 and *n.*, 54 *n.*, 325 *n.*
Ballachulish, 215
Bath, Lord, Mansion in Holborn, 7
Beaconsfield, Lord—
  On Public Worship Regulation Bill, 127
  Prime Minister, 79, 80
  *Sybil*, 5, 293
Beauchamp, Lord, 223
Benson, Archbishop, 64, 225
  Death, 225
Beresford-Hope, A. J., 192, 299
"Better Housing of the Poor," 275
Blackstone, Mr. Justice, on Court of Arches, 68
Blomfield, Bishop, 190
Bodington, Rev. Charles, 87, 165, 166 *n.*
Booth, Charles, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, quoted, 240
Bradley, Rev. J. D., 325
Bright, Dr., 139
Brighton Church Congress, 140
Brooke House, 7
Brougham, Lord, 71
Brydges, Lady Caroline, 1
Buchanan-Riddell, Sir John, 264, 265
Bussage Church, 299
Butler, Dr. H. M., 319 and *n.*
Butler, Rev. W. J., 13 and *n.*, 25, 29, 100, 300
  Recommends Mackonochie, 13, 14, 16
Butterfield, William, designs St. Alban's, 9, 10

Cairns, Lord, 80, 127
Carter, Rev. T. T., 165, 166 *n.*, 211
Cassocks, 26
Cathedrals, 314
Catholic Revival, 294 *seq.*
Cato Street Conspiracy, 8
Chamberlain, Rev. T., 295 *n.*
Chandos, Duke of, 1
Chelmsford, Lord, 81, 91
Chinnery-Haldane, Bishop, 213 and *n.*, 214, 218, 223, 325 *n.*
Church, its essence and accidents, 314
Church and State, relations between, 172, 313
Church Association, 64, 185
  Proceedingsagainst Mackonochie, 65 *seq.*, 90, 125, 127, 219
  Proceedings against Ritualists, 166
  Sends spies to St. Alban's, 86
Church Congress, 1874, 140
Church Discipline Act, 68
"Church League for promoting Separation of Church and State," 175
Church of England, future of, 317 *seq.*

Church of England—
Services in early nineteenth century, 290, 291
Type of public worship, 298
Church of England Working Men's Society, 146 and *n.*, 184
*Church Times*, on interview between Archbishop and working men, 149 *n.*
*Church Times*, report of service at St. Alban's, 228
Claughton, Bishop, 88, 180
Clergy prosecuted under P. W. R. Act, 165
Clewer Sisters' Work, 240
Cloaks, 26
Coleridge, Sir John Taylor, 15, 300
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 292
Colvile, Sir James, 81
Confession, 50, 89, 103, 105, 347
Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, 281
Constantinople, Church of Holy Wisdom, 313
Court of Arches, 68, 69, 72
Court of Delegates, 71
Cox, Rev. J. B., 165, 168
Creighton, Bishop, 225, 236, 237
Characteristics, 228
Death, 239
Letters to Suckling, 228, 230

*Daily Telegraph*, on Easter Service at St. Alban's, 126
Dale, Rev. T. Pelham, 156, 165
Davidson, Archbishop, on Judgment in Purchas Case, 128
Denison, Archdeacon, 72, 100, 175
Memorial against uniformity of ceremonial, 139
On Church Congresses, 140
Teaching, 172
Dickens' *Sketches by Boz*, *David Copperfield*, 69
Disestablishment of Irish Church, 79, 84
Doctors' Commons, 70
Doran, Rev. J. W., 27, 40, 44, 325

Ecclesiastical Courts, 69
Edwards, Rev. John, 165
Eliot, Lord (Lord St. Germans), 92, 93
English Church Union, 61, 62, 243
Enraght, Rev. R. W., 165, 303
Erle, Sir William, 81
Establishment, 83

Gill, F., 325
Gladstone, W. E., 61, 62, 79, 175, 192, 322
Attitude towards Ritualism, 124, 125, 127
On ritual, 297
On Wilberforce's voice, 287
*Good Words* on Reform Leaguers at St. Alban's, 280
Gorham Judgment, protest against, 11, 12 and *n.*
Gray's Inn Road, 6
Green, Rev. S. F., 165, 168, 203 and *n.*

Halifax, Lord, 204, 224, 250
Hamilton, Bishop, 39, 300
Harcourt, Sir William, 227
Harris, Rev. E. A., 233, 325
Hoare, Georgina Sophia (Sister Georgina Mary), 187 and *n.*
Hogg, Rev. G. R., 145, 233, 250, 325
Guild of St. Edmund, 281, 345
Holborn, origin of name, 5
*Holborn Journal*, Election of People's Churchwarden, 326 *seq.*
Holland, Rev. H. S., on Eucharistic life, 271 *seq.*
Howes, Rev. H. T., 325 *n.*
Hubbard, J. G. (Lord Addington), 1, 325
Abstract of correspondence, 16 *seq.*, 23, 25, 29 *seq.*
Address to inhabitants of St. Alban's, 35 *seq.*
As Patron of St. Alban's, 13 *seq.*
Characteristics, 222
Churchmanship, 298, 299 *seq.*
Churchwarden, 40, 325
Death, 222

Hubbard—*continued*
Gives church, furniture, &c., 5 and *n.*
Letters to Mackonochie, 20, 33, 176. *See also* Abstract
Letter to Trustee of St. Peter's, 204
Offers living to Liddon, 17
Offers living to Mackonochie, 21
Resigns patronage of St. Alban's, 186
Suggests temporary engagement to Mackonochie, 31
Hughes, T., *Tom Brown* quoted, 279
Hursley Parish Church, 299

Ibbotson, Rev. Edmund, 325

Jackson, Bishop, 88, 89, 126, 180, 224
Letter to Mackonochie, 198
On work of Mackonochie and Lowder, 203 *n.*
Reply to St. Alban's parishioners, 135, 136
Judicial Committee, 95, 71, 186
Judgment in Purchas Case, 128

Keble, Rev. John, 15, 17, 299
*Christian Year*, 290, 291
On Ornaments Rubric, 295 *n.*
Kelly, Lord Chief Baron, 167
King, Rev. Bryan, 1
King, Bishop, 100, 104, 202
Letter to Suckling, 233
On Ritualism in 1874, 138
Sermon at St. Alban's, 212
Kingsley, Rev. Charles, 275, 277
Kneeling and genuflecting, 96

Lang, Bishop, 239
Lanphier, Rev. W. H., 325 *n.*
Le Strange, H. L. Styleman, 9
Leather Lane, etymology, 5
Leigh, Lord, 1
Gives site for church, 4, 35
Interest in Holborn, 1, 4, 5
Reading *Sybil*, 5, 294
"Letter on Catholic Question" on Cathedral service, 291
Liddon, Dr., 13, 283, 300
Declines St. Alban's, 17
Letters to Hubbard, 19, 30
On Bishop Jackson, 126
On humility, 206
On Ritualism in 1874, 138
On Suckling and Stanton, 202
On Tooth in prison, 168
Recommends Mackonochie, 13, 15
"Lincoln Judgment," 237
Littledale, Dr., 65, 165
London Missions, 87, 115, 121, 210
Longden, H., 249, 266, 325
Longley, Archbishop, 62
Lowder, Rev. C. F., 2, 165, 166 *n.*, 202, 203 *n.*
Ludlow, J. M., 2
Lushington, Stephen, Dean of Arches, 72, 77

Mackonochie, Rev. A. H., 40, 325
Accepts living of St. Alban's, 22
Address of welcome to, 149
Address on Mission, 121
Addresses to parishioners, 62, 73, 93, 136, 171, 172, 178, 181, 186
Appointed to St. Peter's, 203, 205
As Chaplain of St. Saviour's Priory, 281
As Confessor, 103
As Preacher, 52, 53, 103, 280
At Clergy House, 210, 213 *seq.*
At St. George's in the East, 13, 15
At Wantage, 213, 215
Before Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, 186
Burial, 218
Characteristics, 2, 13, 16, 29, 54, 100 *seq.*, 185, 214
Charges against, 73, 90, 94, 128, 141
Cited before P. W. R. Court, 188
Concessions, 63
Condemned in costs, 90

Mackonochie—*continued*
Correspondence with Hubbard, 16 *seq.*, 21, 23, 25, 29 *seq.*, 34, 176
Death, 216
Declines temporary engagement, 31
"Disestablishment and Disendowment," 173 *seq.*
Domestic Chaplain to Lord Eliot, 93
Farewell sermon, 199
"High Mass," 43. *See also under* St. Alban's
Instituted to St. Alban's, 25
Letters of remonstrance to Jackson, 152 *seq.*, 300
Letters to *Record*, 93, 94
Letters to Tait, 74, 142, 194, 196
Memorial to, 223 and *n.*
Monition to, 82
Offers to resign, 28
On Disestablishment, 82
On Judgments and his action, 94, 142
Prosecuted, 65, 72, 90, 130, 141
Reply to parishioners, 134
Resigns benefice, 196, 197, 203, 210
"Separation of Church and State," 177
Sketch of, 99 *seq.*
Suspended, 91, 143, 181, 182, 185
Testimonial, 208
Three Hours, 56 *seq.*, 207, 213
Voice and singing, 54, 111
Mackonochie, James, 29 and *n.*, 213
Malet, T., letter to Mackonochie, 66
*Manchester Guardian* on Mondays at St. Alban's, 285
Martin, John, 65, 127, 147
Letter to Tait, appeal, 76
Retires from suit, 185
Rival Mission, 122
"Martin *v.* Mackonochie," 66, 68, 72 *seq.*
Appeal, 79, 81 *seq.*
Judgments, 73, 81, 90, 91, 94
Mass, 78, 291. *See also* High Mass *under* St. Alban's Church
Maxwell, Rev. H. G., 325
*Mind*, 102
Missions, *see* London Missions
Morley, Thomas, 45
Music, 44

NEWCASTLE, Duke of, 223
Newman, Cardinal, 190, 191, 239, 306, 316
Account of Church in early nineteenth century, 290
On ritual at St. Alban's, 302
On Sir Walter Scott, 292
*Nineteenth Century*—
"Disestablishment and Disendowment," 173 *seq.*
"Separation of Church and State," 177
Noel, Hon. and Rev. B. W., 8, 9 and *n.*

O'NEILL, Father S. W., 88
Oxford Movement leaders, 294, 295

"PAROCHIAL Missions," 87
Pearks, Rev. W. A., 325
Penzance, Lord, 127, 180, 181, 187, 193
Dean of Arches, 165
Deprives Mackonochie, 209
Refused to pronounce deprivation, 185
Phillimore, Sir Robert, 61, 165, 167
Dean of Arches, 72
Judgment in Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 73, 74
Preaching, ministry of, 321
Press on "Popery in Disguise," 85
Public Worship, principles of, 320 *seq.*
Public Worship Regulation Act, 126, 127, 139, 140, 164 *seq.*, 226, 227
Court, 164
Working, 187
Purchas Case and Judgment, 128, 129, 141, 143, 153, 157, 167
Pusey, Dr., 11, 17, 239, 281, 299
Letter to Mackonochie, 302

Pusey—*continued*
Letter to *Times*, 302
On censing, 296
On Eastward Position and Vestments, 295 *n.*
On harass and work, 210
On Ritualism in 1874, 138

Ram, Rev. Edward, 236
*Record*, Mackonochie's letters to, 93, 94
Reform Leaguers at St. Alban's, 280
Reynolds, Archbishop, Constitution of, 77
Ridsdale, Rev. C. J., 165
Case, 166 *seq.*
"Ritualism," 59 *seq.*, 295 *seq.*
Developments of, 301. *See also under* St. Alban's
In 1874, 138 *seq.*
Ritualistic reporters, 47, 60
Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, 186, 192, 193, 197
Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Report, 255
Royal Commissions on Ritual, 62
Reports, 124, 244
Russell, Rev. E. F., 171, 214, 218, 233, 251, 264, 283, 311 and *n.*, 325
Account of Presentation meeting, 270
Guild of St. Barnabas, 284
Sketch of, 284
Russell, Rt. Hon. G. W. E., at presentation to Stanton, 248, 250, 252 *seq.*
Impressions of Presentation meeting, 267

St. Alban's Church—
Area of Parish, 5, 37
Building, 10
Built for poor, 10, 36, 300, 303, 307
Celebrations stopped, 144
Churchwardens, 325
Clergy, 40, 41, 42, 240, 283, 325 *et passim*
Prohibited, 145
Position in 1875, 155

St. Alban' Church—*continued*
Clergy House, 24, 210, 213
Communicants' Roll, 118
Confession, 50, 89, 103, 105, 119, 126, 347
Congregation, 50, 114, 240, 241, 303, 304, 305, 306
Consecrated, 35, 39
Daily Eucharist, 118
Easter Procession of Guilds, 120
Endowment, 241
Eucharistic life, 271 *seq.*, 317 *et passim*
Fire, 235, 312
First Services, 24
Font-Cover, 241
Future of, 316 *seq.*
Good Friday: "Three Hours," 44, 53, 56 *seq.*, 207
Green Vestments, 43, 49, 51
"High Mass," 43, 49, 91, 113, 118, 210, 235, 237, 239, 254, 303
Hymn-book, 54 and *n.*
Incense, 63
Missions, 88, 119, 121, 210
Mortuary book, 118
Music, 44, 50, 54
New Schools and Parish Room, 211
New Year's Eve Service, 108
Parishioners' Memorial to Bishop, 130, 135
Parishioners' Protests, 132, 135, 143, 146
Parochial organizations, 41, 120, 330 *seq.*, *et passim*
Guild of St. Edmund, 344
Mackonochie House, Bognor, 335
St. Alban's Mothers' Meeting, 333
St. Martin's League, 260, 282, 336 *seq.*
Sunday Afternoon Teas, 334
Patronage transferred to Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, 40, 186
People's Churchwarden, election of, 326 *seq.*
Persecutions, 65 *seq.*, 99, 119, 125 *seq.*, 143, 161, 180

St. Alban's Church—*continued*
Public Luncheon on St. Alban's Day, 120, 223
Renewal of Baptismal Vows, 89
"Reservation," 237, 239, *n.*
Rood, 223, 224
St. Alban's Day, 211, 226
St. Sepulchre's, 211
Services on All Souls' Day, 229
Site, 4, 8, 35, 36
Social character, 276, 279
Spies, 86, 90
Standard in ritual, 43 *seq.*, 64, 159, 160, 300, 301
Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 221
Visitors to, 85
St. George's in the East, Mission, 13, 15
St. Peter's, London Docks, 203, 205
Sequestrated, 209
St. Vedast's Church, 145, 259
Schröder, Walter, 249
Scott, Sir Walter, his influence, 292
Shaftesbury, Lord, 61, 127
On Disraeli's Government, 80
On Mackonochie's letter to *Record*, 98
On Service at St. Alban's, 48
Shipley, Rev. Orby, 325 *n.*
Sidney, F. E., 249 *n.*, 264, 325
Sinclair, Rev. W. M., 182, 183
Sister Georgina Mary, 187 and *n.*
Sisterhoods, 293 *n.*
Smith, Rev. Adam Clarke, 4
Society of the Holy Cross, 281
Southey, Robert, 293 and *n.*
Stanley, Dean, 49, 51
Stanton, Rev. A. H., 24, 40, 155, 171, 209, 233, 325
Address from men, 245, 246
Presentation, 248 *seq.*, 256
Appreciation of Mackonochie, 219
*Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*, 244, 261
Characteristics, 105, 107, 108
Letter to G. W. E. Russell at Harrow, 105
Mondays at St. Alban's, 245, 285 *seq.*
Stanton—*continued*
On Monition of Privy Council, 91
Preaching, 51, 110, 112, 116, 254
Prohibited and inhibited, 259
Refuses to celebrate in surplice, 144, 148
St. Martin's League. *See under* St. Alban's
Sermons on Vicar's Suspension, 143, 184
Sketch of, 104
"Three Hours" Service, 44
Suckling family, 201
Suckling, Rev. R. A. J., 325
Address on crisis, 234
Addresses to parish, 207, 208, 211, 237
Instituted to St. Alban's, 202
Letter to Creighton, 229
Letter to Parishioners (1898) on changes in services, 231
On Creighton, 228
Sketch of, 202
Speech at Stanton Presentation, 251
Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 241
Warden of Priory, 281
Work at St. Alban's, 205 *seq.*

TAIT, Bishop (Archbishop), 15, 39, 51, 63, 190, 257, 258
Attitude towards Ritualism, 124
Correspondence with Mackonochie, 193
Death, 193
Family bereavements, 188, 191
Interview with working men, 146, 191
Letter to Mackonochie, 75
Public Worship Regulation Bill, 126. *See* also that title
Signs "Letters of Request," 66
Sketch of, 188
Vetoes proceedings against Ritualists, 166 *n.*
Talbot, Theodore Mansel, 135
Death, 170
Sketch of, 114 *seq*
Speech, 150

Temple, Bishop (Archbishop), 211, 225, 235
At St. Alban's, 225
Enthroned, 225
On "Reservation," 237, 238
"Opinions," 236, 237
Thieves' Kitchen, 8
Thomson, Archbishop, 81
Attitude towards Ritualism, 124
*Times*—
Correspondence between Bishop and Suckling, 228, 230
"High Mass" at St. Alban's, 303
Letter from Lord John Russell, 284 *n.*
On Ritualism, 61, 125, 227
Pusey's letter on Ritualism, 302
Suckling's letter, 233, 237
Toogood, Rev. J. J., 3, 4, 35
Tooth, Rev. Arthur, 165, 168
"Tractarian" Movement, 59
Tractarian Theology, effect of, 299
UNREST, intellectual and social, 320
Vows of Celibacy, 28
WALCOT, W., 257
Walker, Rev. H. A., 27, 40, 55, 325
As Precentor, 44, 45
Warburton, Rev. F. E., 325
Westall, Rev. Henry, 235
Westbury, Lord, 81
Westcott, Bishop, 320
"Westerton *v.* Liddell," 77
Wilberforce, Bishop, 2, 15, 39, 61, 62, 80, 87, 88
At St. Alban's, 49
Letter to Tait on Purchas Judgment, 129
On development of ceremonial, 301
Sketch of, 123 *seq.*
Willington, Rev. H. E., 325
Winnington-Ingram, Bishop, 239

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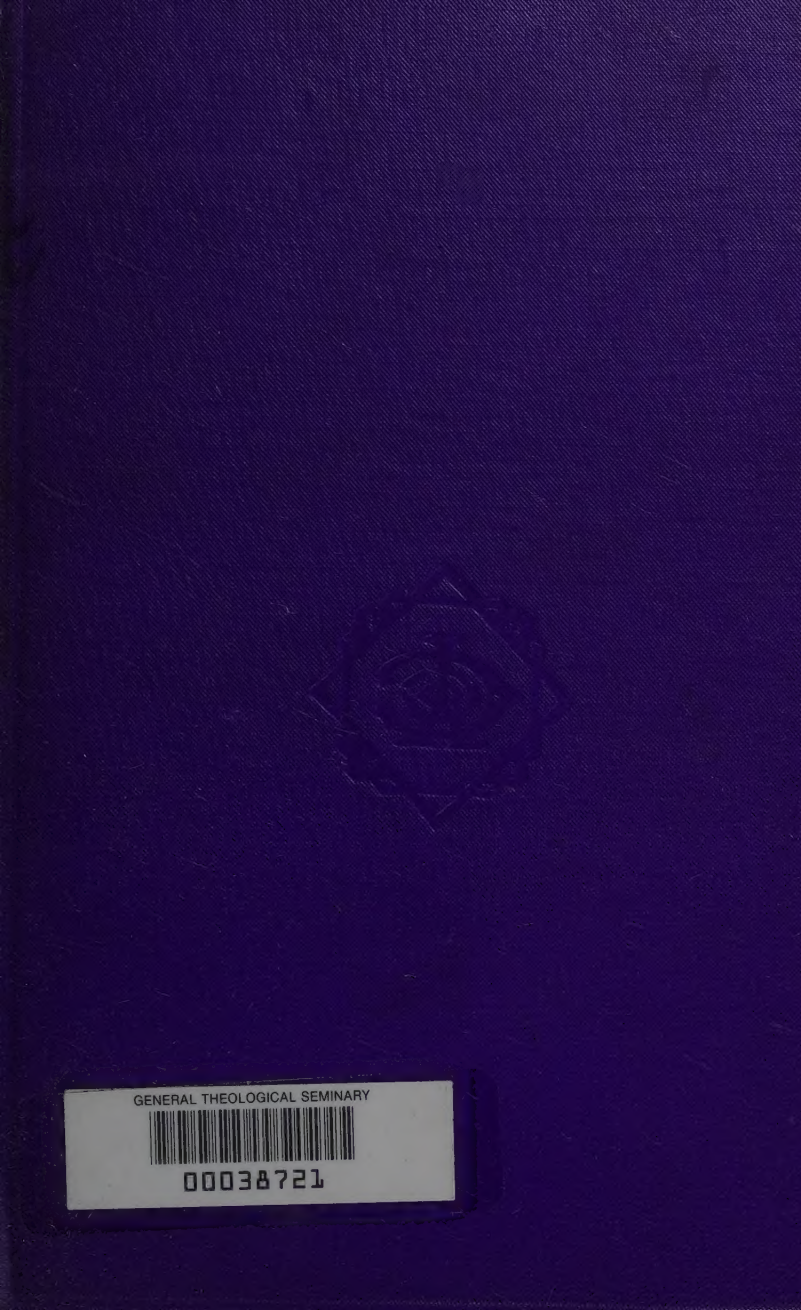
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